

AMONG THE PLAIN PEOPLE

THESIS

FOR THE DOCTORATE OF THE UNIVERSITY

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF
LETTERS OF DIJON

BY

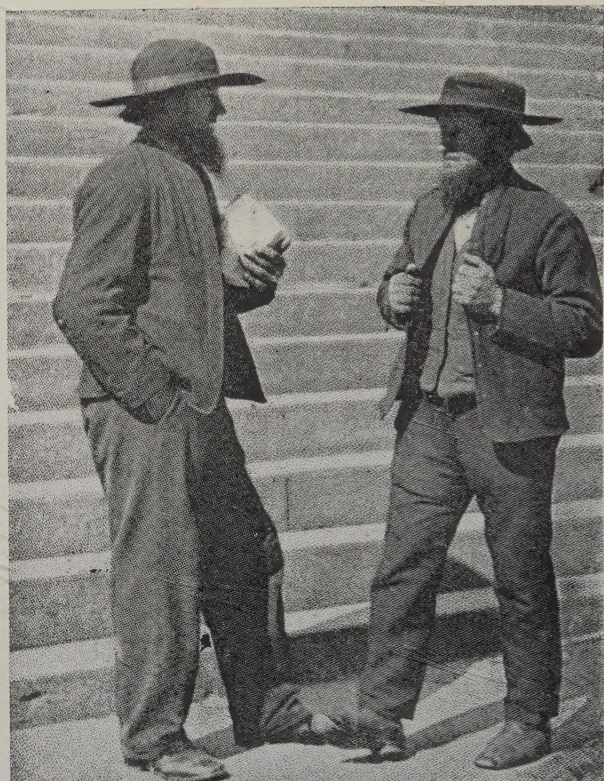
Robert NOÉ



DIJON
IMPRIMERIE BERNIGAUD ET PRIVAT

—
1938

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Amishmen of Lancaster
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A M. le Professeur GEORGES CONNES

*en témoignage de ma gratitude
et de mon admiration.*

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Robert Noé.

CHAPTER I

Introduction

It has frequently been stated by students of history that in Pennsylvania German land alone in the entire United States is one able to see eighteenth century Germany. While this statement may be somewhat generously construed, it is nonetheless true that here, in southeastern Pennsylvania, exists a localized culture without parallel in the annals of America ; a distinctive way of living that has withstood the aggressions of modern economic and social life for more than 250 years.

The Pennsylvania Germans have so successfully guarded and preserved their folkways that they have largely remained a mere name to the average reader, even to the native born Pennsylvanian. In view of this fact, the implications of this study are obvious.

The problem.

Appreciating the human interest of the subject at hand, it logically becomes the problem of this

thesis to portray the Pennsylvania German and his culture in as many pertinent ways as truthfulness and available data can justify.

Need for the study.

This study bases its development on the presumption, herein aforementioned, that the Pennsylvania German culture is largely an unknown factor to the average reader. While works do exist treating the Exodus from the Palatinate and the causes contributing thereto, there is, to the author's knowledge, no extant single volume that concerns itself with material similar to the topics incorporated in this study.

Delimitations of the study.

It has been the author's major purpose in compiling this study to present Pennsylvania German Land and its people as they exist today. The past has, however, occasionally been treated at some length, primarily in an effort to facilitate an understanding of the culture of the present.

Many truths, though axiomatic, seem eternal, and if the mannerisms of the eighteenth century are herein portrayed as being the basis for the conduct of the twentieth, it is only because conservatism has made such an apparently incomprehensible situation a factual one.

The delineation of superstitions presented in this study has been given in the present tense. In fairness to the Plain People, it must be said that the greater number of them are not credulous as the superstitions

herein outlined might indicate. The author justifies their use on the fact that the unusual beliefs he has collected are still a strong factor in the thinking of many of the more rural groups. The recent trial of persons from a German community in York County, Pennsylvania, for the murder of a man who sold them magical formulas that did not produce the desired results shows how persistently such superstitions cling to a people who have retained more or less successfully their own community life.

There has been no conscious or premeditated thought of either championing or condemning the Pennsylvania Germans in this study. Facts are presented as discovered; the reader may deduce as he will.

Although approximately twenty five distinct sects of Plain People entered Pennsylvania in the early eighteenth century, only the three major groups are considered in this work. Many of the smaller and unimportant divisions soon passed from the scene and left no lasting evidence of their existence. Other sects are so closely akin to the major groups in belief and practice that a separate treatment of each is unjustified. The Amish, Mennonites, and Dunkards are today by far the numerically superior groups in Pennsylvania German Land.

The Mennonites of the twentieth century, the direct descendants of the early colonizers, are likewise divided into many groups; all observations herein made relative to this sect should be construed as bearing primarily on the Old Mennonites — the main group.

It is also not generally understood that there are

several branches of the Dunkard Church, for the present predominancy of the Church of the Brethren which claims some 200,000 members, completely overshadows the lesser groups. It is because of the great numerical superiority of the Brethren branch that its creed and practices are herein given as being representative of those of the Dunkard Church.

The writer has studied the Plain People only in Pennsylvania. It is true that many Dutch late arrivals necessarily live beyond the boundaries of Lancaster, Bucks, Montgomery and Berks Counties, but such groups are so scattered as to make it impossible for them to present a true cross section of American life.

It was the author's aim, in consideration of the purpose of this thesis, to give a panoramic view of the entire Pennsylvania German people. Admittedly, a thesis customarily covers a small unit of work in an exhaustive manner. In this study original research and primary sources have not been sacrificed for the sake of interest; in fact, in the last analysis, perhaps quite the contrary has unfortunately occurred. If then the scope of this study despite the delimitations heretofore mentioned seems somewhat extensive, the writer assures that to the best of his knowledge breadth has not been determined at the expense of accuracy, validity or reliability of factual content. Rather has he, as Thucydides¹, attempted to present «an accurate knowledge of what has happened», in the most informative and profitable manner.

1. Almack, John C., *Research and Thesis Writing*, p. 173.

Definition of terms.

The following terms will be used with the following meanings :

Pennsylvania Dutch — A corruption of Pennsylvania Deutsch. Herein used interchangeably with Pennsylvania German.

Plain People — Any members of the three major groups herein considered.

Worldly — Socially integrated, mundane, — anything non-essential and designed for effect alone.

Shunning — The practice of ignoring a person who has broken one of the conventions of the Church.

Wrappers — The finest tobacco leaves — used to cover a cigar.

Filler — The leaves used to form the body of a cigar.

Dunker — German — tunken, to dip.

Trine Immersion — Threefold, triple baptism.

Ban — Expulsion or Excommunication.

Palatinate — Both Lower and Upper sections.

CHAPTER II

Method of Solution of the Problem

In solving the problem the greatest reliance was placed upon field trips to the actual points to be examined. Books were used only when personal contacts were not feasible. Numerous visits were made to farms, churches, industries, markets, schools and historic shrines, and notes were taken on the spot at the time of the visit. After a number of notes were assembled, certain important key topics became evident, and the minor considerations were dropped unless they in some way contributed to a better understanding of the outstanding points. After the scope of the work had been visualized and delimitations were completed, pamphlets, brochures, letters, documents and books were examined in an effort to check the correctness of the observations. Frequently the process was reversed, and excursions served to corroborate or invalidate the assertions of a text. When an irreconcilable discrepancy occurred between the field observation and a written opinion, the greater weight was given to the visual source of information.

When an evaluation of a dissimilar interpretation of the same subject by different authors presented itself, the viewpoint of the more widely accredited author was accepted — pending verification. Conflicts were conspicuous as various writers attempted to praise or condemn the industry or the cultural lag of the Dutchmen.

The author has used primary sources wherever possible. Although magazine articles and other popularized secondary materials frequently offered interesting color, their use has been largely avoided in the interest of reliability and validity.

The photographs that have been interspersed throughout the study were taken as candidly as possible, in order to present the people in their natural mean and bearing. The aerial views were made of typical farms, not especially selected ones, and were taken in the hope of depicting the thrifty thoroughness of the average German farmer in the most easily understood manner.

Accents and mannerisms were studied by home contact and were recorded as heard and noted.

When all available material was collected, a further selection and elimination was again made, a final bibliography was drawn, and the actual work of writing was begun.

During the writing revisions were necessary as values became increasingly more relative and errors in interpretation occasionally became apparent.

CHAPTER III

Historic Origins

For more than 800 years the valley of the Rhine was the prize for which Romans, Gauls and Germans contended. There is, even today, no region of equal extent which was the scene of such bloody conflicts as was the Palatinate. It was there that the Romans for upwards of 500 years tried to subdue the Germans without success. After the Roman failure, the section became a prize to be gained by the strongest group and, as a result of this fact, the Upper Rhine was rarely free from conflict. The battles of the incessant wars of the French Monarchs were invariably fought in the region of the Rhine, and the crimes here committed as a result of religious intolerance, fanaticism or political ambition are unparalleled in the annals of history.

Religion especially caused frightful outrages. The natives of the Palatinate accepted the tenets of the Reformation at an early date and the exercise of freedom of thought in regard to religious matters soon brought them into collision with the ruling

princes who still remained staunch Roman Catholics. The Pope decided to crush this new flaunting of his authority, and seemed intent to wreak his entire vengeance against the growing Protestantism in the Palatinate. The wars of religion were renewed immediately after the work of Martin Luther and continued for 200 years.

During the Thirty Years War the Palatinate was frequently ravaged by the forces of the contending armies. South German Protestants and Catholics were among the first to take up arms in the defense of their religion, and for three decades unrelentless warfare was the accepted condition of existence. Even when the war was transferred for a time to Bohemia, the Palatinate received no respite, for it was then invaded by a Spanish Army under Spinola in 1620. Again in 1645 the armies under Turenne and Conde invaded the Palatinate and each time it was devastated. When peace at last came by the Treaty of Westphalia, by which Protestantism was saved for Germany, the Palatines believed that the devastation of war had come to an end, and that life would no longer be the intolerable thing it once was.

The horrors of the Thirty Years War and the suffering it entailed defy adequate description. Arson, the slaughter of children, murder and rape were the orders of the day. Armed forces were generally ununiformed and the majority of the soldiers on both sides could only be identified as such by the guns they carried. The fighting men of the Thirty Years War invariably took either their wives or «Tross Women» with them, and the

tortures to which these harpies subjected their captives staggers the imagination ¹.

The dire consequences of the war fell most heavily upon the peasantry, the bone and sinew of the country's structure. In many parts of the country in the course of the war seventy-five percent. of the inhabitants were killed, sixty-five percent. of the houses were burned, and eighty-five percent. of the horses and cattle were destroyed. In some districts cannibalism was practiced, so impossible did the animal struggle for self preservation become.

Due to the dearth of manpower, fields lost their fertility and grew to woodland; food necessarily became scarcer as the slightest chances for an established economic balance became impossible. In view of such wanton spoliation, it can easily be understood how culture and art withered away and disappeared under social conditions that were without previous parallel.

So complete was the destruction that at the end of the war in the County of Henneberg more than three fourths of the inhabitants and four fifths of their worldly goods were destroyed. In nineteen villages of the county there were in the years :

	1634	1649	1849
Families	1773	316	1916
Houses	1717	627	1558

So demoralizing were the total effects of the conflict that it can reasonably be said to have retarded civilization in Germany by at least 150 years.

1. Pennsylvania German Society Proceedings, vol. VII, 1897 p. 127.

When the new Elector granted religious freedom and offered land grants to prospective settlers on especially easy terms, the freedom and future well being of the Palatines seemed assured. The country began to prosper anew and was well on the way to recovery from its recent distresses when in 1674 the constructive efforts of more than two decades were negated by the outbreak of the War of the Protestant Netherlands between France and Holland, 1672-1678. Due to its position the Palatinate was exposed to the ravages of the contending armies, for it was one of the borderlands of the German Empire, reasonably prosperous, and therefore destined to be crushed between the two millstones of the opposing powers.

Louis XIV, commanding the French, ordered the Palatinate to be destroyed as a part of his strategy against his adversary. The work of devastation was to be done thoroughly and relentlessly. Again a pitiful tale of destruction and misery was recorded, and it was at this point that the first obscure beginnings of the emigrations to Pennsylvania took place.

After a brief respite of about ten years the Great War of the Palatinate was begun when Louis XIV laid claim to the entire section in the name of his sister-in-law. When the countries of north Europe joined forces to prevent this new stroke, Louis dispatched a mighty army into the country. As it became increasingly obvious to the French king that his newly conquered lands could not be held, Louis decided that if the soil of the Palatinate was not to furnish supplies to the French, it should be so wasted that it would at least furnish no supplies to the

Germans, and approved the famous order of his War Minister Louvois to « brûler le Palatinat ».

The scenes that followed surpassed even the horrors of the Thirty Years War. Macaulay's ¹ description staggers the imagination : « The commander announced to near half a million human beings that he granted them three days of grace, and that within that time they must shift for themselves. Soon the roads and fields, which lay deep in snow, were blackened by innumerable multitudes of men, women and children flying from their homes... Meanwhile the work of destruction went on. The flames went up from every market place, every parish church and every county seat within the denoted province. The fields where the corn had been sowed were ploughed up. The orchards were hewn down... not a vine, not an almond tree was to be seen on the slopes of the sunny hills round what had once been Heidelberg » (This action was also motivated to a degree by the fact that the Palatines had harbored the Huguenots who had been previously expelled from France as enemies of the state).

While the work of destruction was going on, the crafty Louis succeeded in involving the German Government, under an incompetent prince, in a war with Austria. To make the realization of his aims more easily attained, the invader succeeded in creating a war feeling on the part of the Turks and Hungarians against the German Government, and the Palatines were left to shift for themselves. Destruction by fire and sword went on without

1. Macaulay, *History of England*, vol. III, p. 112.

interruption worthy of mention from 1688 to 1697, and the Palatinate was once again reduced to ashes and ruin.

All hope seemed lost to the inhabitants when the complexion of events was suddenly improved for the oppressed Germans when William of Orange, moved to pity by the suffering of the German peasantry, declared war on Louis XIV. The English King soon found his efforts seconded, for the greater part of Europe entered into league against the French Monarch. Holland, Spain and the Scandinavian States combined against him and it seemed that the successes of the French sovereign were at an end. Louis however, was undaunted by this united front and proposed to carry on several new campaigns with fresh vigor. The attitude of the hostile powers of Europe were, however, sufficiently dangerous to Louis to make him more cautious in his future movements and he decided on a defensive war in the Palatinate and an invasion of Ireland as the best means of embarrassing William of England. The manpower of France, due to the exhaustive duration of previous conflicts, was becoming increasingly limited and the king found himself lacking the conscripts necessary to the realization of his designs. The genius of Louvois, however, was equal to the emergency, and he decided to withdraw troops from the Palatinate for the Irish campaign. Louvois, realizing that there would be an insufficient number of soldiers remaining in the Palatinate to assure its continued domination, ordered those cities that could not be held to be utterly destroyed, so that those posts from which the French

troops might retire should henceforth serve no one. Louis, after some hesitation, gave his approval to the barbarous expedient of Louvois, and means of conquest unknown since the days of the Mongols were employed in the all consuming desire for victory.

The atrocities committed raised the indignation of Europe to the highest pitch, and offensive and defensive alliances were formed that were to be maintained until the French king was humbled and his conquests taken from him. Louis, in spite of the fact that he undoubtedly felt a twinge of conscience at the proposed burning of Treves, carried on with his designs and it was not until the signing of the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697, that surcease from conquest temporarily prevailed.

After some sixty years of the horrors of war it was inevitable that the Palatines should become indoctrinated with the idea that strife was the predestined lot of their homeland, and it was entirely natural and as equally inevitable that they should look elsewhere for homes. Glowing accounts of the emissaries of William Penn were received as the only hope of a depressed and despairing people, and emigration to the new Promised Land soon assumed considerable proportions. Patriotism and the natural love for the soil of their forefathers at first deterred many Germans who listened to the stories of the wealth and peace that were to be had across the Atlantic, but new trouble helped to lessen their hesitancy in breaking old ties.

In 1698 an ardent Romanist sat on the throne and religious persecution was added to economic bank-

ruptcy. The persecution of non Catholics in Germany was carried on systematically. Church property was confiscated and worshippers in many cases were expelled from the country. Mennonites, Quakers and Huguenots were summarily driven from the land and their property appropriated. This persecution continued for nearly a century as the ravages of war followed one another in rapid succession.

The War of the Palatinate had scarcely closed when the War of the Spanish Succession broke out (1701-1714). This strife was followed by the War of the Austrian Secession (1741-1747).

These conflicts were sorely felt in the Palatinate and other sections of southwestern Germany, and to make their repercussions the more difficult to endure, the cruelties of the religious persecutions continued unabated. For a long period each new prince of the Palatinate forced a change of religion on his subjects.

To the religious persecutions which prepared the way for emigration to America it is necessary to add the tyranny, extravagance and heartlessness of the rulers of the Palatinate themselves. During the entire eighteenth century their chief efforts seemed to be directed to a base and slavish imitation of the life of the French court. While the country was exhausted and facing complete ruin costly palaces were built and great retinues of servants were maintained. While pastors and school teachers were starving hundreds of court officers lived in luxury and idleness. Down to the French Revolution the peasant and his children were forced to render body service, to pay taxes in

case of sale or heritage, to suffer the inconveniences of hunting and, above all, to see themselves deprived of justice. These wrongs and the many other petty tyrannies of the rulers fostered a widespread discontent and made life increasingly unbearable. The continued disturbances of war and religious persecution soon began to entail the most dire economic and social effects on the more patriotic and homeloving Germans. So serious were the persecutions that in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries nearly 500,000 Palatines, Wuertenbergers and Swiss were ruthlessly expelled from their homes. Exile was followed by famine, famine by pestilence, and as a final result all the finer impulses of the heart and mind were threatened with complete extinction.

It difficult to determine whether Penn's motives in advertising his grant to the distressed Germans were altruistic or purely material. There is much evidence to support both viewpoints. His trips thru Holland and Germany in 1671, 1674 and 1677 seem to have been occasioned by his sincere desire to spread the principles and the doctrines of the Society of Friends, and it is known that his co-worker, George Fox, long cherished the idea of a Quaker «land of refuge» in the New World.

In 1682 Penn devoted all his energies to his new possession and wrote letters to many of the leaders of the Pietists whose acquaintances he had made on his previous journies. Benjamin Furley, a fellow English Quaker and a merchant at Rotterdam assumed the rôle of advertising agent and the Frankfort and Crefeld land companies were soon formed.

Pamphlets descriptive of the opportunities existing in Pennsylvania were printed in high and low German and were widely distributed. Most of the brochures were quite detailed in their instructions. The religious clause was mentioned but infrequently, Penn undoubtedly presuming the assurances given in the preface to his « Frame of Laws » to be sufficient to the needs of any oppressed individual. The following excerpt¹ stresses the economic angle exclusively :

« Information and Direction to such Persons as are inclined to America, more Especially those related to the Province of Pennsylvania ...

That the value and improvement of Estates in our Parts of America, may yet appear with further clearness and Assurance to Enquirers, I propose to speak of my Knowledge, and the Observation of others, as particularly as I can ; which I shall comprise under these Heads : »

I. The Advance that is upon Money and Goods.

II. The Advance that is upon Labour, be it of Handicrafts or others.

III. The Advance that is upon Land.

IV. The Charge of Transporting a Family, and Fitting a Plantation.

V. The way the Poorer sort may be transported, and Seated, with Advantage to the Rich that help them.

VI. The easier and better provision that is to be

1. The Discovery, *Exploration and Development of the Western Continent*. — Julius Sachse, *Proceedings of Pennsylvania German Society*, vol. VII, 1896, plate 13, p. 213.

made there for posterity, especially by those that are not of great substance.

VII. What utensils and goods are fitting to carry for use or profit.

For the first such Money as may be carried as pieces of eight... and Goods at least fifty percent. Upon goods, well bought and sorted, there is some profit, but some money is very requisit for Trades sake ».

The religious note is the introduction to the following tract published in 1682 ¹.

« Plantation Work the Work of this Generation. Written in True Love to all such as are Weightily inclined to Transplant themselves and Families to any of the English Plantations in America the Most material Doubts and Objections against it being removed, they may more cheerfully proceed to the Glory and Renown of the God of the whole Earth, who in all Undertakings is to be looked unto, Praised and Feared for Ever ».

Furley seems to have sincerely concerned himself with the future welfare of the settlers he was attempting to induce to colonize in the new world and one of his own tracts was entitled « For the Security of Foreigners who may incline to Purchase Land in Pennsylvania, but may dy before they themselves come to their inhabit » ².

Penn's literature did much to encourage the German emigration which, when once really started from Rotterdam in 1709 assumed such proportions that

1. *Ibid.*, plate VII.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 173.

English leaders in Pennsylvania expressed fear for their own continued dominance of the colony.

One of the unaccountable factors in the German emigration was the relative fewness of the settlers between 1683, when the first Mennonites settled in Germantown and the great wave of 1709. Penn's tracts seemed relatively fruitless in this period; it remained for Nature to provide the final stimulus.

The winter of 1708-1709 was a bitter one, so cold that wine was frozen in bottles, — the birds of the air and the animals of the forest were frozen to death¹. Government regulation was powerless to stop speculation and starvation was widespread. New tracts appeared, new transportation companies were formed, and the first of the great waves of immigration assumed form.

The German Exodus may be separated into four great divisions. The first seems to have started with the Crefelders and Pastorius in 1683 and to have continued irregularly until the winter of 1708. Most of the emigrants in this period were Mennonites and Quakers. The second wave, containing most of the forbears of the Plain People in America today, lasted from 1709 until 1720. The third and fourth periods cover the years 1720-1730 and 1730-1740.

Religious persecutions and conditions of actual starvation actuated the first waves. The last groups came seeking freedom as well, but not under economic and religious conditions as frightful as those sustained by earlier groups.

The English seem to have enjoyed most of the

1. *Ibid.*, p. 284.

profits to be gained in transporting the emigrants to the New World. Dr. Jacobs¹ mentions such ships as the St. Andrew, Phoenix, Dragon, Patience, Mortonhouse, Pennsylvania, The Two Brothers and the Nancy, and states that the general route followed from Germany was generally down the Rhine to Holland, across the Channel to England, and from thence the final embarkation to Philadelphia. No records of passengers were kept until 1717 but after this date figures show by year; 1719-6000, 1732-3000, 1779-12,000. His quoted estimate for the total German population in 1750 is 90,000 (perhaps one fourth of whom were Plain People).

The sufferings of the emigrants were not at an end with their actual sailing from England. Calms, pirates, disease, unsanitary cabin conditions, failing water supplies and lack of food might be mentioned as being the outstanding hardships encountered.

William Penn's voyages to America consumed from seven weeks to three months each. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg sailed from the coast of England on June 13, 1742 and landed in three months and ten days². A Caspar Wistar wrote in 1732³ of a « ship that had been twenty four weeks at sea, and had lost 100 of its 150 passengers by starvation, the rats and mice having been caught to satisfy the hunger, and the price of a mouse fixed at half a gulden, and whose survivors were all thrown into prison for the debts of the living and the dead ».

1. The German Immigration to America, 1709-1740. — *Pennsylvania German Society*, vol. VIII, 1897, p. 75.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

The accounts given in John Wesley's journals paint a picture equally as pitiable. A medical commission appointed by the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania in 1757 reported on shipboard conditions as follows ¹ :

« The diseases to which all places are liable from foreigners brought among them in crowded vessels are : first, fever from a foul air, which is common to these ships ; secondly, those fevers aggravated in houses where too many of the sick are kept together in small and close rooms ; thirdly, fevers from infectious matter brought on board the ship from other places... the steam of bilge water and the breath of great numbers of people betwixt the decks of a ship make the air moist and in some degree putrid ».

Even after the emigrants had landed at Philadelphia their lot was not a happy one. Frequently entire families were broken up as children left their parents to work out their ocean passage for an established landowner of the New World. (The ocean fare of six doubloons — ninety dollars, was far beyond the resources of many of the Palatines).

Benjamin Franklin became alarmed at the rapidly increasing numbers of the immigrants and raised protests against the « Palatine boors », and a Provost of the University of Pennsylvania organized a « Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Germans ». In spite of all hardships the Plain People and their compatriots worked diligently at whatever their hands found to do and contributed

1. *Ibid.*, p. 95-96.

much to the development of the colony. In 1738 the Governor, in addressing the Provincial Assembly declared : ¹ « This province has been for some time the asylum of the distressed Protestants of the Palatinate, and other parts of Germany ; and I believe it may with truth be said that the present flourishing condition of it is in great measure owing to the industry of these people ».

1. Colonial Records, IV, 312.

CHAPTER IV

Religious Sects and Doctrines

The Mennonites

In 1536, Menno Simons, the founder of the Mennonite sect, renounced the Catholic faith and cast his lot with the Anabaptists. Since this group believed in non-resistance, non-participation in civil government, the rejection of infant baptism and a separation of church and state, it was soon made very evident to the body that its lot was to be a hard one in a country where religious toleration was unknown. From 1600 to 1700 the group was hounded from one hiding place to another, and their feelings of aloofness from the world were immeasurably intensified.

The first group of Mennonites came to Philadelphia in 1683 but many soon moved to the banks of the Pequea Creek in Lancaster County, where they found the isolation and independence they so desired. In 1717 so great a number entered Pennsylvania that the southern half of Conestoga Township became almost exclusively their own.

In religious practice as well as in doctrine the Mennonites have perpetuated the teachings of the Anabaptists. Among the customs which the latter introduced into their religious service was that of feet washing in connection with the communion service. This practice was common among the Anabaptists of Europe and was also in vogue in some form among other religious organizations. Among the Mennonites of Europe there was no uniformity of practice with the exception of the Mennonites of Germantown and Franconia. It was introduced by the early immigrants into America, due perhaps largely to Amish influence.

Another religious custom which is now confined almost exclusively to the Dunkards and Mennonites is the wearing of the prayer head covering among the women of the church. This practice was common among the Anabaptists, and if one may judge from the portraits of the women of past generations it was not unusual among later Protestant denominations. This covering, which at first was perhaps some sort of veil, finally developed into a small cap made of light material just large enough to cover the head. The custom is common among most of the branches of the American Mennonite Church, but has been discarded by the General Conference Mennonites and others of the more liberal elements of the denomination.

The ministers or preachers of the church are chosen by lot and generally are not of professional training. It is felt that the study of Greek and Church History is no assurance of goodness of soul and purpose. When a man feels the desire to preach he makes his intention

known to the bishop or elder. The members then vote for the persons of their choice for the office. When two or more have been nominated they are required to draw lots following the example furnished by Acts 1 : 15-16. For this purpose hymn books are used, one book for each candidate whose name has been offered, and in one of these books a slip of paper is hidden. The nominees then each select a book and the one in whose book the paper is found is at once selected as minister. These ministers receive no pay, but must be entirely self-supporting unless doing some special type of work that interferes with their opportunity to make a living.

The Mennonite Church does not adhere to the doctrine of infant baptism, but stresses the point that the saving grace it confers can only come with adulthood and the development of mature reasoning. Infants can commit no sin and hence are not in danger of the loss of heaven. Baptism is by pouring — complete immersion as practiced by the Baptists not being considered essential.

The church service of the Mennonite group is distinctive in many ways. The building is of the plainest stone or brick construction, so very plain that in Lancaster County it might be mistaken for a tobacco warehouse. It is simply equipped and designed only for purposes of worship; for secular interests form no part of the Mennonite dogma. The men and the women worship together, but occupy opposite sides of the church. Hymns are sung, but without instrumental accompaniment, for no grounds for the use of an organ can be found in the New Testament Dispensation. Prayer and preaching



Mennonite Church - Lancaster County



Mennonite Church - Lancaster County

occupy the major portion of the service, with ritual and form as known to the Catholic non-existant. Collections are not taken by the passing of the cup offering plate or envelope, for this is akin to meaningless ostentation. Each member deposits what he feels he can afford in a box placed in the back of the church. The entire atmosphere during the service is one of quiet reverence with an absolute minimum of the emotional fervor that so frequently marks the worship of Evangelical faiths. Communion is held twice a year, usually in the Spring and the Fall, and should be preceded by a day of fasting and prayer. It is open to all members who feel that they can righteously participate. Feet washing, in those districts where practiced, always follows the communion.

Marriage is considered a lasting bond and cannot be righteously dissolved save by death. It is the opinion of the Mennonites that the marriage vows are above economic or temperamental considerations and that a union, once made, cannot be broken if God's will is to be considered. The church does not sanction mixed marriages beyond its faith, and believes that marriage with divorced persons whose former mates are living constitutes adultery.

While the church does not try to foist its creed upon fellow Christians, it does take an active interest in missionary work, both home and foreign. The local care of the poor and the sick is relegated to the district conference that shelters them, with the foreign missionary work being supported by all groups. Foreign missionaries are notably active in India and Africa.

Alcoholic drinks are banned by the church, and any man who gives evidences of using them may be called upon to confess the error of his ways and to make an earnest effort to withstand his temptation.

The Mennonites are as conservative in their religious practices as they are in their garb, and nothing new can enter the church unless confirmed by a two-thirds vote of the conference. Members are not allowed to attend fairs, excursions, motion pictures, horse races, amusement parks or professional sports events. Automobiles may be owned, but should never be used for purposes of pleasure. Life insurance policies are banned, as is membership in all types of fraternal organizations.

Since God's Word advises that «ye love one another», the Mennonite will not go into law suit with his fellow churchmen. Should a case demand litigation, it is subjected to the opinions of the brethren.

In view of the above facts, it can be seen that the beliefs and practices of the Mennonite Church are not primarily laid in a socially adaptable interpretation of the will of God, but rather in a strict adherence to the verses of the Bible. When decisions must be made for which no explicit Biblical injunction can be found, the Mennonites trust in God's personal direction of their thinking, and so arrive at their own conclusions.

The Amish

The Amish denomination takes its name from Jacob Amman, a Mennonite preacher who lived in

the Canton of Berne, Switzerland. Judging from the scant biographical material available he seems to have been a man of strong conservative tendencies and of decided opinions. In 1693 he showed his first real tendency towards the ultraconservatism that marks his adherents today when he advocated a more rigid observance of the practices of «avoidance» and «shunning» all such who had been excommunicated.

At the time of Amman's entry into religious affairs it was the practice of the Swiss Church to «shun» a member who had been expelled from their body only at the communion table, but to the new reformer this punishment was far too lenient an attitude on such a basic principle. He insisted that the practice be extended to numerous social and even domestic relations. The wife and children of an expelled member, if they themselves were members of the church, must not be permitted to eat at the same table with the member who had erred. The usual conjugal relations between husband and wife were also to be suspended until proper penitence had been manifested on the part of the one expelled and until full restoration to the church had been secured.

Throughout the region of the Oberland and Emmen-thaler territories much bitter discussion on this subject was provoked. Amman soon gained several followers who espoused his views and enthusiastically took up the practices he advocated.

Hans Reist was his principal opponent in the Swiss Church. The Amman and Reist factions held numerous conferences with a view of settling their

divergent opinions, but the meetings invariably ended without any appreciable reconciliation. The end result was that Amman headed one faction of the church and Reist the other.

The Amman branch became known as Amish and its adherents were often spoken of as the Amish Mennonites. It was partly as a special mark of distinction, and as an evidence of separation from the "world" and other churches, that Amman introduced the use of hooks and eyes instead of buttons on the clothes of men. He also introduced the practice of feet washing, which the Swiss Church at this time seems to have dropped. The practice of avoidance was also very strenuously emphasized. It is claimed that in 1700 Amman and a number of his leading followers wrote a letter to Reist asking forgiveness, but Reist refused to be reconciled, and thus the division continued and remains to the present day.

The Old Order Amish are by far the most conservative group of the Plain People living in Pennsylvania today. In the market place, in religious meetings and in their homes their customs and habits of life appear as a startling anachronism in twentieth century America. Particularly is their dissimilarity to the average American noticed in their religious ceremonies.

Meetings for worship are convened in a barn or member's home, for churches are considered unnecessary and a sinful waste of wealth. Members arrive by horse drawn buggies and as many as seventy five to one hundred carriages are frequently

seen at the place selected for worship, this despite America's 25,000,000 automobiles.

Meetings are called for nine in the morning and generally continue, with an interruption for dinner, until three in the afternoon. The entire service is conducted in Pennsylvania Dutch and impresses with its informal sincerity and devotion. If the meeting is held in a barn the worshippers seat themselves upon benches, wagons, upturned peach baskets and similar objects. Non-professional preachers, invariably elderly men, speak for indefinite periods and their admonitions are interspersed with old hymns that seem musically without form. Instruments are banned as unnecessary and worldly.

After the dinner, whose staples are probably cheese, molasses, bread or shoofly pie and coffee, the meeting is resumed at the pleasure of the elders who give the gatherings its only semblance of form by sitting at the front facing the people, much as do the occupants of the facing benches in the Orthodox Quaker Church. At the conclusion of the period of worship it is customary that an elder announce the next place of meeting. Houses or barns are selected that are most easily reached by the greatest number.

Perhaps the outstanding religious characteristics of the Old Amish are their implicit faith in the Bible as their sole guide, their abhorrence of all church form and ritual, and their belief that the tilling of the soil is God's preferred occupation for His people.

The Amish have often been criticized on religious grounds on the basis of bigotry and asceticism. Close observation, however, would tend to detract



The Old and the New



Horsesheds - Landisvalley.

from the validity of such a view. The charge of bigotry cannot be raised against any group that never attempts to proselyte other faiths to its beliefs, that follows its own convictions and does not trammel the rights of others in doing so.

There is little of asceticism in the Amishman. One who has attested their trencherman appetites and the elasticity of their conception of the conventions within their own groups would hardly lodge such an accusation.

The entire Amish group is composed of the Old Order Amish, Conservative Amish – Mennonite, or «New Amish», Defenceless Mennonites and the Central Conference of Mennonites. The entire group numbered approximately 22,000 in 1936. With the exception of the preponderant Old Amish Order, which claims about 10,000 adherents, it seems that within the last three decades a large number of the remaining three branches of the sect have been reunited with the Mennonite Church and are now affiliated with it in organization and religious activities.

The «New Amish» sect or «New Taufer» as they are called in western Pennsylvania, was established by Samuel Frölich, a theological student at Zurich, who in 1832 was deposed from the ministry of the Reformed Church in Argau. Immediately after his dismissal he began to organize a church of his own.

While engaged in developing the new church he visited Emmenthal and there was well received by Christian Gerber and Christian Baumgartner, two Amishmen who were dissatisfied with their own church. Two years later, George Steiger, a disciple

of Frölich, and at that time a young man of twenty one, appeared among the Amish of Emmenthal and organized a large church of sixty dissatisfied Amish, including Gerber and Baumgartner and a larger number of the national church. Steiger rebaptized the new proselytes and taught that only those who



Amish boys playing football-
Churchtown.

followed his teaching could be eternally saved. All other teaching, regardless of its age or principles, was to be condemned as false.

The new sect grew rapidly and early manifested that seclusive and self righteous spirit which has been characteristic of them to this day. They kept themselves from contact with the outer world as much as was possible and would not send their

children to public schools, establishing instead their own private ones. They followed to the letter the teachings of St. Luke : « Salute no man by the way ».

The growth of the group was at first slow, but at the closing of the nineteenth century there was a heavy immigration from Switzerland that considerably swelled the number of adherents.

In practice the group evidences many traits of the Old Amish. They are entirely non-resistant and have nothing to do with civil government. In dress they are unusually plain, but due to the Swiss influences the women are permitted to wear plain hats instead of bonnets.

In doctrine, however, there are marked differences between the New and Old Amish. The New Taufer baptize by immersion and observe the practice of feet washing, although not in connection with the communion service. Perhaps one of the most noticeable differences is the use of churches by the New Amish. In spite of some claims to conventional forms they nonetheless remain very exclusive and have as little business and social relations with others as possible. There are no religious associations with any other church in the slightest degree. The New Amish are forbidden by the rules of their organization to listen to the preaching or praying, or any religious exercise performed by a minister of another faith, and for that reason never attend the funeral service of even their nearest relatives or friends, if such individuals are not members of their own sect.

A free use of the ban is made in their religious discipline and expelled members are rigidly shunned. This shunning is complete, affecting the innermost

relations of the family. In recent years this practice has worked havoc in a number of families in Central Illinois and has evoked much unfavorable comment throughout Ohio and Pennsylvania.

The New Amish, as well as the Old Amish groups, will apparently exist as long as parents are able to shield their children from outside contacts, and so preserve what they consider to be the important virtues. The public consolidated school, now rapidly displacing the old one room buildings, seems destined to play a major role in the clash that gives evidence of becoming increasingly more serious.

The Dunkards

The Dunkards were earlier known by the name German Baptists. This sect, like the other « Plain » denominations, is an outgrowth of the Pietistic Movement in Germany, or, as it frequently has been called, « Ascetic Puritanism ».

As a result of the Treaty of Westphalia, there evolved one group that believed in a union of church and state and another clique that contended for their separation. This basic difference of opinion, together with the belief that faith is a prerequisite to baptism, developed what is sometimes called the Anabaptist. From these beliefs evolved the groups which were later known as Separatists or Pietists. These bodies were persecuted by the Reformed and Catholic Churches and were driven from place to place until finally Count Cassimir of Wittgenstein opened a place of refuge for the persecuted brethren in his province.

In 1708 the first Dunkard Church was organized in Westphalia, Germany, with Alexander Mack as its first minister. The church increased rapidly, but due to persecution, its members soon found that they could not follow their basic beliefs with the full honesty of their convictions. Mack, in consequence, left the country and preached his conception of the word of truth in many parts of Holland.

While among the Holland Dutch he met and formed the acquaintance of William Penn, who was at the time interested in gaining settlers for his colony. The Church of the Brethren was invited to settle in Pennsylvania, and since persecution in the Palatinate was so intense, the invitation was accepted. The emigration began about 1720, and by the close of 1740 the entire congregation had removed to Philadelphia and Germantown. From these two focal points the church rapidly expanded its interests until its members are today found in nearly every state in the Union.

The faith and practices of the Brethren Church are well defined and are all founded on the admonitions of the Scriptures ; the influences of social change are largely ignored. The Bible is held to be the inspired Word of God and the New Testament is accepted as the rule of faith and practice. The church appears but little interested in the subtleties of speculative theology, but seems to be primarily concerned in giving willing obedience in life, and service in accordance with the simple sayings of Jesus. The Brethren hold strictly to the Deity of Christ, the personality of the Holy Spirit, the sin pardoning value of the atonement and the resurrection of the just and

unjust. Faith, repentance, baptism and the infilling of the Holy Spirit are fundamental to true conversion. The Brethren closely follow the practice of the apostolic church and accept no candidate for membership until he has been baptized. In the language of St. Peter they tell all believers to repent and to be baptized in the name of Christ and «ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit» (Acts 2:38).

The church holds that baptism is only for believers and those who have repented. Since infants can neither believe nor repent they are not proper subjects for baptism. In defence of trine immersion they hold that in Matthew 28:19 the baptism in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit teaches a threefold action. As there are Three Persons in the Trinity, each one of the Divine Three is honored in this form of Baptism. As the Three Persons constitute one God, and a belief in each of these one faith, so the three dippings constitute one baptism. Changes have been made from trine immersion to sprinkling, but the church that made the change, the Roman Catholic, still retains the three actions in applying water to the candidate. The baptism as practiced by the Church of the Brethren is accepted as valid baptism by practically all Christian denominations.

The Church of the Brethren in the reformatory movement in 1708 restored the love feast, basing such restoration on the fact that on the evening before his death Jesus ate a supper with His disciples and instituted in connection with this sacred meal the Holy Communion. The Brethren follow the example of Christ by preparing a meal and placing

it on tables used for that purpose alone. All members partake of the supper.

Before eating, the religious rite of washing feet is observed. Justification for the practice is found in John 13 : 1-17. « He riseth from supper and took a towel and girded himself ... for I have given you an example that you should do as I have done to you ». The Church of the Brethren is not alone in the practice of this rite. The Greek Church with it 100,000,000 members has adhered to feet washing ever since the days of the Apostles, and the Patriarchs of Jerusalem engage in feet washing today near the place where Jesus himself gave the example and the precept. In the actual practice of feet washing the Church of the Brethren follows very closely the example of Jesus. Water is poured into a basin, a brother girds himself with a towel and washes and wipes his brother's bared feet, and in turn his own feet are washed. The rite is in this way performed over the entire congregation. The sisters wash the sisters' feet, and all the proprieties of the sexes are rigidly observed. By this ordinance the gospel principle of humility is set forth and by its observance all are placed on a common level. The rich and the poor stand alike in brotherhood and sense a better understanding of each other.

After observing the ceremony of feet washing, a blessing is asked on the simple meal spread on the tables and it is eaten with solemnity. It is held to be not only commemorative but also typical of the great supper at the end of the world when Christ Himself will serve. The important lesson is again

taught that all the partakers are members of one common family and one brotherhood, and that fraternity and loving fellowship is shown by eating this sacred meal together as did Christ and His disciples.

Having finished the supper the Communion is observed which consists in partaking of the bread and wine. The emblems are passed from hand to hand by the brethren and in like manner by the sisters. After all have partaken of the symbols, a period of devotion follows, a hymn is sung, and the services are closed for the evening. Love feasts are held in each church usually once or twice a year, but since the members visit from congregation to congregation during the love feast season, they engage many times in this service during a single year.

In compliance with the instruction of the Apostle James (5 : 14, 15) the Brethren anoint the sick with oil. Elders are called who anoint in the name of the Lord. Following the anointing they lay their hands on the head of the sick one and offer a prayer that he may be healed and that he may be fully prepared for whatever is the will of the Lord.

The Church of the Brethren holds the marriage bond to be very sacred and binding. Divorce and remarriage are permitted only for the one scriptural reason as found in Matthew 19:9. The church holds that a woman who has a husband is bound to him by law as long as he lives and becomes free from him only at his death — Romans 7:2.

Brethren are not allowed to go to law with one of their own number, nor with others, without first

asking the counsel of the church. It is a rare occasion when a brother is engaged in a law suit. Among themselves differences are adjusted personally or by the church in accordance with the Christian law of trespass given by the Master (Matthew 18 : 15-20).

The Church does not believe in war and, as the Friends, is non resistant as well as non litigant. It holds that Christ is the « Prince of Peace » and that His Word is the « Gospel of Peace »; hence his servants cannot go to war to fight. They may do such non combatant work as will contribute to human welfare and comfort but not such service as will contribute to the destruction of life or property.

The Church is opposed to all forms of swearing. If called upon to testify in the courts its members simply affirm, and thus literally obey the command of Christ who said « Swear not at all, but let your communication be yea, yea and nay, nay » (Matthew 5 : 34-37).

It is not in harmony with the principles of the Church for members to belong to oath bound secret societies. Such membership involves a violation of gospel teaching. The Church, as the body of Christ, is sufficient for human needs.

On the question of temperance and prohibition, the Church of the Brethren has, for more than a century, given no uncertain testimony, for it is one of the oldest temperance organizations in the United States. More than 100 years ago a decision was passed forbidding any of the members to engage in the manufacture or sale of intoxicants. The Church pointedly forbids the use of all alcoholic liquors as a beverage, in public or private.

It discourages the use of tobacco, and a rule exists to the effect that no brother can be installed in office who uses tobacco without making a promise to quit it. All applicants for baptism who are addicted to the habit are advised to renounce it before they are received into Church membership.

The members of the Church of the Brethren claim to be, and generally are, a plain people. Plain dressing is urged, and a general uniformity is encouraged, but this attitude is merely regarded as a means to an end. They believe that the New Testament teaches plainness in attire and that conservative and simple clothes are conducive to simple living.

The Church keeps her poor, each congregation looking after her own who may become needy. If a single congregation becomes burdened, it may call for assistance upon a neighboring congregation, and in this way the needed help may be obtained. A number of State Districts have homes for the aged. All are held by the Fraternity as brethren and sisters entitled to support, both moral and physical, in time of need.

The Brethren have a representative form of church government. Each congregation is independent in the management of the local affairs such as the election of deacons, ministers, elders or bishops, and in the matters of local church discipline, but it is subject to the entire Brotherhood through district and local conferences. A number of congregations, usually in the same state, are formed into a district and hold annual meetings to which each congregation is entitled to send two or more delegates, lay or official. Questions local to the district are discussed

pro and con, but those of a general character are sent to the General Conference, or Annual Meeting as it is commonly called. This is also a delegated body. Each congregation with a membership of 200 or less is entitled to one delegate to serve in the general body. Congregations with a larger membership may send two delegates. These representatives may be selected from the laity or from among the church officials. Any church member present may take part in the discussion of questions but the voting is confined to the delegates, two thirds of the votes cast being required for important decisions. The General Conference is also the great annual reunion of the Church, for members come together from all parts of the Brotherhood, and thousands of them assemble at the place of meeting. The decisions of the Conference are to be adhered to by all the members of the church. An examination of the records of the Conference show that questions referring to church doctrine rarely come before it, but it is rather the special cases and the best means to carry them into effect that are the subject of most frequent discussion.

The officers of the church are elders, ministers and deacons. Elders are ordained from the ministers of the church by action of all the elders of the district. The elder in charge of a congregation usually asks the elders of the district at the District Meeting for the ordination of a minister, or of an elder. Ministers and deacons are elected by the church, each member having a right to vote for whomsoever he or she wishes, in council assembled for the purpose. A two thirds majority is usually considered necessary to

effect an election. A young man who feels called by the Lord to preach may express his wish to the elder, or to a minister of the church, and the church may qualify him by giving him a license to preach. When he has shown faithfulness and ability the church is expected to advance him to the ministry. Sisters may also be licensed to preach, but they are not authorized to administer the ordinances of the church. While many ministers give their services free, there are others who serve the church as pastors and still others who devote their entire time to missionary work. These persons are supported by the church.

The Church of the Brethren is well organized for missionary endeavor and tract distribution. Each district has its own local board to work its home field. A General Mission Board directs the foreign work. Under this same General Board is the control and direction of the publishing interests of the church and eighty percent of all the profits arising from publications is used in mission work at home and abroad. The periodicals published by the Brethren Press cover the various needs of the church and have international circulation.

Mennonites Today

The tendency among all the various branches of the church is generally to designate themselves simply as Mennonites. Even the Amish now speak of themselves as Amish Mennonites, and two of the divisions of this branch have assumed the name Mennonite without considering a prefix.

The two main divisions which existed at the beginning of their American history, and from which all later divisions have sprung, are the Mennonites and the Amish. The largest of these two groups is the Mennonite, which is further subdivided into the Old Mennonite, the more strict Reformed Mennonites (Herrites) « Wisler » Mennonites, General Conference Mennonites, Mennonite Brethren in Christ, Church of God in Christ (Holdemanite), and Brueder Gemeinde.

Of these groups the Old Mennonite has by far the greatest membership, numbering about 22,000. This is the parent body from which the others have sprung and is still conservative in spirit and religious practice. The term « Old » is not a regular part of the name but is used more to distinguish the main body from the later divisions. The Old Mennonites include the following « Conferences », all of which are entirely independent of each other : Lancaster County ; Franconia (composed of the churches in Montgomery, Bucks and Berks Counties) ; Southwestern Pennsylvania ; Washington and Franklin Counties ; Virginia ; Ohio ; Indiana-Michigan ; Illinois ; Iowa-Missouri ; Kansas-Nebraska ; Pacific Coast ; Nebraska-Minnesota (composed of Germans from Russia) ; Ontario ; and Alberta-Saskatchewan. By far the largest of these is the Lancaster County Conference. It is also the most conservative and is not altogether in sympathy with the progressive spirit of some of the western conferences. The official church organ of the Old Mennonites is the Gospel Herald, published by the Mennonite Publishing House at Scottdale, Pennsylvania. These conferences

also support the Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities which directs mission work in many cities of the United States.

The General Conference Mennonites stand second in importance with a membership of about 14,000. In addition to the General Conference which meets three times a year, there are five District Conferences : the Eastern, composed of the congregations of eastern Pennsylvania, principally in Montgomery, Bucks and Berks Counties; the Middle District, composed of scattered congregations in Ohio, Indiana, Iowa and Missouri; the Western, which is made up largely of churches in Kansas; the Northern, comprising several congregations in Minnesota; and the Pacific Conference.

The Mennonite Brethren in Christ have a membership of about 6,000, and are divided into five Conference Districts : Canada, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Indiana-Ohio, and Western.

Among the Amish, the largest branch is the Amish-Mennonite, with a membership of a little over 11,000. It comprises three Conference Districts : the Eastern, composed of the congregations of Pennsylvania, Ohio and Ontario; Indiana; and the Western District which comprises the churches in all the states west of Indiana. The Amish-Mennonites have no church of their own, but are officially represented on all the boards of the institutions of the Old Mennonites. These two churches are practically one in spirit, doctrine and religious practice, and act together in all church enterprises.

The Old Order Amish, with a membership of 10,000, have no conferences or church institutions, but

generally support the missionary enterprises of the Old Mennonites and Amish-Mennonites, and read the literature published by them.

The Conservative Amish number a little over 5,600 in the United States and Canada. They differ little from the Old Order, except that they worship in meeting houses and are less given to maintaining the old customs. They have no conferences. Each congregation is independent of all others.

The Illinois Conference of Mennonites is the name by which the so-called « Stuckey » Amish are known. This church is a branch of the Amish division, but it has assumed the simple name of Mennonite. It numbers about 1,500 members, principally in Illinois. It maintains no separate church institutions, but supports the educational and missionary enterprises of the Old Mennonites, and reads the literature of both publishing houses.

The Defenceless Mennonites, sometimes called « Egli » Amish, are likewise a branch of the Amish Church.

The groups herein mentioned represent the various cleavages of the whole Mennonite denomination. In addition to these, there are still a number of independent congregations, especially in the Northern States, which cannot be classified except according to their geographical location.

It is exceedingly difficult to accurately determine the number of Mennonites in America today. The report of the United States Census Board and the statistics for the Old Mennonites, Amish-Mennonites and several others published in the Mennonite Year Book and Directory are fairly reliable.

The following table, compiled from several sources, is an estimate based on all available data :

I Old Mennonites	
1. Franconia	3,500
2. Lancaster	8,000
3. Washington and Franklin Counties	2,800
4. Virginia	1,150
5. Southwestern Pennsylvania	1,800
6. Ohio	1,300
7. Indiana-Michigan	1,250
8. Kansas-Nebraska.....	800
9. Illinois	390
10. Iowa-Missouri.....	585
11. Pacific Coast	2,150
12. Nebraska-Minnesota	450
13. Minnesota (Independent).....	500
14. Alberta-Saskatchewan	150
15. Ontario	1,500
II General Conference Mennonites	14,000
III Mennonite Brethren in Christ	6,000
IV Wisler Mennonites.....	1,900
V Reformed Mennonites.....	1,700
VI Brueder Gemeinde.....	700
VII Church of God in Christ (Holdeman)	600
VIII Mennonites in Manitoba (Russian) ..	8,000
IX Amish Mennonites	
1. Eastern District	3,900
2. Indiana-Michigan	1,150
X Amish-Mennonites (Conservative) ..	5,500
XI Old Order Amish	10,000
XII Defenceless Mennonites	1,000
XIII Illinois Conference of Mennonites ...	1,500
	82,275

In round numbers, then, the membership of the entire denomination totals about 82,000. This includes only those who are actual members of the church. Since Mennonite families are on the average large, it may be safe to estimate the entire Mennonite population in America at about 165,000.

The Mennonites of all classes are still almost entirely a rural people. Very few congregations are found in the cities. The following map, illustrative of the density of distribution of the Plain People in their « Home State » has been designed to include the Dunkards as well as the Mennonites and Amish. It should be interpreted as follows

- = Amish (all groups)
- = Mennonites (» »)
- + = Dunkards (Brethren)

Each symbol represents 1,000 adult church members. Numerals on designated counties represent total populations by census of 1930 ¹.

1. World Atlas, Rand Mc Nally Co Chicago, 1937, édition.

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CHAPTER V

Customs and Accomplishments

When the great German migration came from the Palatinate, it found none of the social and economic conditions prevailing in the adopted land that had existed at home. The new order of things made a certain change in their mode of life necessary, but in so far as it was possible, the Dutch retained the traits and customs of their homeland; the greater part of which have come down to the present day. The resemblance of the customs and habits of the Germans in the rural districts of Pennsylvania to those of the peasantry of southern Germany is even today quite marked, undoubtedly due to the fact that the rural population is invariably the group that carries out for the longest period of time the traits of its inheritance.

Perhaps there is no factor that distinguishes the Plain People from their fellow citizens of Pennsylvania so markedly as does their garb. The Amish, Brethren and Mennonites regard any decorative considerations as being inconsistent with humility, and in consequence they dress in the simplest taste.

The Amish dress is especially peculiar when judged in the light of present day standards. The children appear to be diminutive men and women, so closely does their dress duplicate that of their parents. The close adherence to Leviticus 21:5 among the Amish demands that the men shave their upper lips and allow their beards to grow, a custom which accounts for the fact that they were formerly known as «Beardy Men». The Amish of Lancaster County have followed the rule faithfully, and the beard, which is generally reddish brown in color, grows full and unrestrained. Trousers are unpressed and are worn very short. Except for the necessary absence of a beard, the little boy appears as the shadow of his father. His hair, as his father's, has been cut long and reaches almost to his shoulders, and he too wears the characteristic Amish garb, a black coat and vest made of a tightly woven material fastened with hooks and eyes, long trousers (which are worn without suspenders), and a round crowned, stiff, black felt hat with the unusually wide brim. The hooks and eyes are said by some critics to be symbols of the pacifistic views of the sect, purposely retained as an expression of the group abhorrence of the brass buttons of the army uniform. In recent years there has been considerable discussion in the group over the permissibility of wearing suspenders, and no little discord has been caused by the sharp variance of opinion in the matter.

The Amish mother, who also wears a distinctive dress, is much less restricted in her choice of colors than the Mennonite women. Her bonnet, which

has a long visor hiding her face and a « curtain » reaching to her shoulders are black, as is the folded shawl or handkerchief that meets demurely over her breast, but her closely fitting dress is a dull magenta. These colors have been selected because they are not in common use, and consequently can, in a sense, be considered « unworldly ». Certain shades of green and blue, not generally seen, are also acceptable to the sect.

The dress of the Mennonites, while less striking than that of the Amish women, is nonetheless severe. The suits of the men are cut rather conventionally but are invariably black. The women wear black bonnets with short ruffles, and their dresses are gray or black. Capes are worn, but not in the flowing manner of those of the Amish, being restrained at the inside of the waist by a cord.

The men of the Brethren wear coats of a clerical type that button up the front, eliminating any necessity or use of neckties. The women of the sect wear clothes that are simply cut, and of a gray, black or dark blue material. Light caps are worn in the home, with a darker bonnet for street wear.

Although the Plain People refrain from putting gay colors on their persons, they nonetheless have a passion for surrounding themselves with plenty of them in the brightest and most striking of shades. So brilliant were the tints desired in their china that the English manufacturers aptly applied the term « gaudy Dutch » to the pottery the Plain People purchased. The famous Dutch red barns are numerous in Lancaster and Berks Counties and throughout



Amish Children - Old Order



Amish couple - Old Order

Franconia, but they are rarely seen in numbers elsewhere. The causes of the wide popularity of the tulip as a decorative medium among the Dutch has occasioned much comment among those who would try to justify its wide usage. It is seen on barns, pottery, chests, quilts and various other objects. The Dutch themselves variously explain the six petal emblem as a sign of the Trinity, an expression of conjugal love, a charm to keep witches at a distance and as the flower to be esteemed because it was the one that sprang up at the spot where Christ's feet first touched the earth after the descent from the cross. Farmers generally attribute the barn tulip to the fact that « they've always been there », or « they make the barn look tidy ». A few Berks County farmers hold that appearances are secondary and that the real reason for the careful retention of the flower on the barn is because it is a symbol of fertility. This may be a possible explanation for its frequent appearance on hope chests, wedding spreads, birth certificates and similar objects. The Dutch make stone china in red, white and blue shades ; plates with hand painted tulips and pomegranates are done in orange yellow, black and olive green. The sgraffito pottery and the Fraktur work of the Pennsylvania Germans represent work of high artistry and are widely sought after today as collectors' pieces. Decorated woodwork, rugs and textiles all evince the compensatory response of the Dutch to gay colors. Even the most ultra conservative sects are naturally not at all afraid of it. Particularly is color loved by the Dutch women. Peacocks, tulips, variegated lilies and colored leaf plants are loved for their

brilliance and often appear as art motifs in textiles and wood. Rag carpets rival the colors of the rainbow, and even settees, clocks, chairs and chests are painted with various designs. Quilts, bedspreads, couch covers and the like are alive with color, as are the names of some of their designs : « Last Rose in the Wilderness », « Flower Pot », « Bird of Paradise », « The Pierced Pineapple », « Full Blown Tulip », « The Garden Basket », etc.

The Dutch, while primarily an agricultural people, have contributed some notable figures to industry, science and art. The appreciation of this fact becomes the greater when one considers that in many parts of Pennsylvania Germanland today, 1937, automobiles, motion pictures and radios are outlawed, and the member who would consider purchasing life insurance or joining a fraternal organization is frowned upon as seriously departing from God's intended way of living.

The Bethlehem Steel Company was founded by John Fretz, and is today headed by Charles Schwab — both Pennsylvania Dutchmen. In printing the work of Christopher Sauer was outstanding. Conrad Beissel's Ephrata press of 1745, using hand made type for a 1512 page Martyr Book was nothing short of phenomenal in its efficiency, considering the date it was devised. The old glassware of Baron Stiegel and Wistar are the pride of collectors and are sold at prices far beyond their intrinsic worth. The great modern silk mills of Reading, Lancaster and Allentown are a fitting tribute to Dutch perseverance and foresight. Frank Woolworth, John Wanamaker, William Luten and

Milton Hershey might be mentioned as being outstanding examples of Dutch participation in the economic development of America. Among modern authors the Dutch can claim Joseph Hegesheimer, Theodore Dreiser, Lowell Thomas, Professor Cornelius Weygant and Reginald Wright Kauffman. Six Governors of Pennsylvania have been Dutchmen, and it is contrary to the general conception of Dutch conservatism to note the strong Socialistic tinge so obvious in the City of Reading. In the field of music, Paul Althouse of the Metropolitan Opera Company heads a notable list. Miss India N. Waelchi (who once sang with Enrico Caruso), Paul Specht and Fred Hufsmith have each contributed in their respective fields. In the films the Dutch lay claim to Clark Gable (Mennonite German Swiss-Goebel, Koebel and Gabel). While many of General Washington's bodyguard were Pennsylvania Germans, it remained for General John J. Pershing to carry Dutch soldiery to its highest level. Finally, the Palatines achieved a President of the United States in Herbert Hoover, one of whose forebears was Andreas Huber, who came from the Palatinate in 1740.

Perhaps were the words « Pennsylvania Dutch » to be addressed to 100 Pennsylvanians tomorrow, it is probable that the first impressions brought to mind would be those of good food. From the « Seven Sweets and Seven Sours » to « Schintz Pie », the regional cookery of the Pennsylvania German farmers is capable of appealing to the palate of the most fastidious gourmet, and yet is substantial and sustaining.

In the days of the first migrations, the German housewives brought with them the famous recipes of their homeland. Life in the new country was hard however and the land at first yielded but little. Prescribed ingredients were lackings, stores were few and widely separated, and it became necessary for the ingenious hausfrau to utilize the ingredients at hand in the creation of her tasty dishes.

The Dutch diet was, from our modern, sedentary point of view perhaps rather too heavy and hospitable, and from the point of view of moderns, fresh and out-of-season food facilities were too limited during the winter days.

Pennsylvania German cookery is being accorded recognition to an increasing degree. The liking for Ponhaws, Pepper Pot Soup, Reading Pretzels and similar specialties is now more or less national. There is arising an insistance that there be available country and wayside inns and restaurants where the old Dutch cookery might be found.

The German « Specialties » as noted in the appendix have been collected from a variety of sources and are generally unknown beyond the boundaries of Pennsylvania German land. Many were conceived in an age when all cooking was done in the old time stone oven, — that ingenious device still evident behind many Dutch farm houses even today. Many culinary experts believe that the inimitable flavor of Dutch food is due to the fact that it is slowly cooked over a bed of live wood coals. In the present age of gas and electric stoves, the superannuated Dutch oven is merely a word to American housewives; — it is hoped that their modern counterparts will impart,

to an appreciable degree, the « finish » that has so long been claimed for the old stone oven.

Should the cooks of today be overwhelmed by the care and detail demanded in the preparation of many of the Dutch dishes, they should remember that cookery was ever an art in Pennsylvania German land — more meaningful to the Dutchmen than any other. The thoroughness that so generally characterizes Dutch life evidences itself in their cookery by the hours spent in the careful preparation of their food. Contrary to modern trends, the housewife of old Pennsylvania German land was more concerned with what was in the table service, than in the service itself. A Bucks County farmer's observation : « It's what I eat, not what I eat it with », expresses the German viewpoint to a nicety.

Festivals

The greatest Amish festive occasion, or the one which calls for the greatest number of persons to eat and drink together is the funeral. When a death occurs the neighbors of the family of the deceased enter the house, and taking possession, relieve the family as far as possible from the labors and cares of the funeral. Some « redd up » the house, making it ready for the reception of company. Others work in the kitchen and help to bake great stores of bread and pies for the expected gathering. Two young men and two young women generally sit up together over night to watch in a room adjoining that of the dead. At funerals occurring on Sunday as many as 300 vehicles have been seen in attendance,

and so great is the mingling of people of every economic state and religious belief that funerals can really be called gala affairs.

The services at funerals are generally conducted in the Dutch Dialect. A cordial invitation is extended to the persons present to return to eat after the funeral. Occasionally, however, the meal is partaken of before leaving for the grave yard. In rural districts where the guests come from considerable distances, hospitality demands this consideration. The tables are sometimes set in a barn or large shed, and relays of guests succeed one another until all have eaten, with the neighbors waiting upon the mourners. The spread generally consists of meat, frequently cold, bread and butter, pickles or sauce such as apple butter, pies and cakes, stewed chicken ; mashed potatoes, cheese, etc., and always coffee. After the dishwashing all the mourners leave and the family is once more left in quiet.

Memorial stones over the dead are more conspicuous than those used by the Friends, but they are generally quite plain, with brief and simple inscriptions.

Family grave yards are occasionally seen, but they are gradually falling into disfavor because of the uncertainty of the plots preservation after the owners of the burial ground die or remove to another section.

Weddings

The Plain People are firm believers in the advisability of early marriage, and consciously try to help the eligibles in every way. Among the Amish the

lane gate, when painted blue, is supposedly a sure sign that a marriageable daughter lives within and that suitors are welcome. Among the Mennonites it is the disappearing practice to have matches arranged by the older members of the church, the young having but little to say in the matter as to the qualities he or she might particularly desire.



Moravian Cemetery - Bethlehem

Mennonite weddings are held in their brick or frame meeting house, and generally begin at nine in the morning, being largely attended. The form of the ceremony is binding and impressive. The preacher speaks in a tone almost entirely favorable to the prospective husband. The wife is to submit to the husband whenever differences arise. It is the duty



Amish cemetery - near Morgantown



On an Amish farm

of the husband, however, to love his wife and to show his love by his ready willingness to assist her. Plain language is used concerning adultery. After the advice is given, the pair proposing marriage is called forward. The man and the woman rise from different sections of the congregation, and coming out of the middle aisle, stand together before the minister. The bride generally wears colored alpaca and a black apron ; also a starched cap without a border, after the fashion of the sect. The groom is garbed in a dark green coat, closely fitted at the waist, after the manner of the Brethren. The Mennonites discourage the unusual courting of the Amish, but try to arrange their marriages through intermediaries. A year should elapse between the tentative arrangements and the consummation by marriage. The prescribed time having passed and the pair coming before the preacher, three questions are asked :

1. I ask of the brother, as the bridegroom, do you believe that this sister in the faith is allotted to you by God as your helpmeet and spouse ? And I ask of you, as the bride, do you believe that your brother is allotted to you by God as your husband and head ?

2. Are you free in your affections from all others, and have you centered them alone upon this your brother or sister ?

3. Do you receive this person as your lawfully wedded husband (wife), do you promise to be faithful to him (her), to reverence him (to love her), and that nothing but death shall separate you ; that, by the help of God you will, to the best of your ability, fulfill all the duties which God has enjoined on believing husbands and wives ?

On receiving their assent, the preacher directs them to join hands, pronounces them man and wife, and asks a blessing upon them. This form is followed by a short prayer, after which the wedded pair separates, each again taking a place among the congregation. The occasion is a solemn one. The audience kneels and the preacher again prays. - His supplications are followed by a few remarks to the effect that although it would be grievous to break the bond uniting these two, it would be infinitely more grievous to break the bond uniting us to Christ. The Mennonite Church does not allow wedding parties, but a few friends may gather at the house after meeting.

At Amish weddings the coming together is not held in a church, as the nuptials described above, for their meetings are by precedent held in private houses or barns. None go to this meeting but invited guests. After the ceremony, the wedded pair, with the preachers, retire into a private apartment, perhaps for exhortation upon their new duties.

The Amish, unlike the Mennonites, do not bar revelry and gaiety from the marriages of their members; in fact, the young men sometimes conduct themselves in a manner entirely inconsistent with their general bearing. At wedding parties, called «infares», the revelry frequently continues all night. On these occasions both young and old join in a game not unlike «*Hunt the Slipper*», which is played with what is known as a «*bloom sock*» — a handkerchief or towel, twisted and doubled, with the ends tied in a knot. In the course of the

game the bloom sock is passed secretly from hand to hand in order to confuse that one of the players who must find it. As opportunity offers, the other players hit him with the knotted towel. If he is able to seize it, his obligation is discharged, and another takes his place. Other games are played, but this one seems to be the favorite diversion.

Holidays

On Christmas morning it is the habit of the Pennsylvania Germans to cry « Christmas Gift », and not as elsewhere, « Merry Christmas ». Christmas is a day when people do not work but go to meeting ; when roast turkey and mince pies are in order, and when the Dutch housewife has a store of cakes on hand to give to the little folks.

The first of April is a great occasion, the opening of the farming year. The tenant farmer and other « renters » move to their new homes, and interest money and other debts are due. So much money changes hands in Lancaster, that the unsuspecting German farmer occasionally finds his pockets picked.

The moving days, on or about April first, are made festive occasions. Neighbors, young and old, come together to assist. Some bring wagons to transport farm implements and furniture ; others help in driving cattle, putting furniture in place and setting up the bedsteads, while the women are ever ready to help prepare a bountiful meal.

The Monday after Whitsuntide, which comes early in June, is a great holiday with the younger Dutch

folks. It occurs when there is a lull in the farm work, between corn planting and hay making.

The Fourth of July is given but passing notice. The urgency of the harvest and the military significance of the day both combine to make it unimportant.

Thanksgiving is not the turkey and pumpkin pie affair in Pennsylvania German Land that it is in New England. In Lancaster County the day is generally spent in church going and quiet meditation.

The last day of October is Hallowe'en. Boys imitate the witches and carry off fence gates, chairs or whatever happens to strike their fancy.

CHAPTER VI

Economic life

Farming

Then plow deep while sluggards sleep,
And you shall have corn to sell and keep ¹.

The Pennsylvania Germans of Lancaster County can today justly lay claim to possessing the best kept and most productive farms in the United States. This condition did not happen by chance, but was a result of ambition, hard work and a close study of the soil. If one studies the farming regions chosen by the early German settlers, they are noticed to be invariably located in the richest limestone sections of the state. The Germans always sought out the most heavily forested sections as farm sites, reasoning that ground that would support great trees would also produce large crops. The ethnological principle of relationships was also no small factor in their choice. It is a truism that when people

1. Old Dutch proverb.

migrate from one country to another, or even one section to another, they tend to take up their new abode on land whose natural features resemble those of the sections they have left. The Palatinate land along the Rhine were in many ways topographically similar to the limestone districts of Bucks, Berks and Lancaster Counties.

In traveling through Pennsylvania German Land today, the visitor marvels at the orderliness and the well kept condition of the buildings. A general impression of efficiency is conveyed that is too often lost as one passes into adjoining counties. The reason for this exceptional air of prosperity can be appreciated only by an understanding of the European background.

Taxation and the unhappy economic status of the Palatinate Germans had forced the land owner to utilize every inch of the ground, to replenish the soil and to labor unceasingly. When the first settlers arrived in this country it was natural for them to carry on with their frugal habits in spite of the fact that land was plentiful and easily obtained. The new opportunities, as well as the ambition to become landholders, led the settlers to work still harder, although it must have been clearly evident from the first that an easier and more successful life was in store for them in their new homeland. However, lessons learned through suffering are not easily forgotten, and it was this training, rather than greed, that compelled them to continue to practice the same rigid economy as had their fathers. The strict selfdenial and unceasing toil of the Dutch immigrants could hardly fail to culminate, sooner or later, in more than ordinary success.

The farms of the Pennsylvania Germans vary greatly in acreage, many being quite small, of about the size one man could easily manage — twenty or thirty acres. Others might contain 200 to 300 acres. Perhaps fifty or sixty acres might be said to be the average size.

If one takes the more material viewpoint it seems possible that it might not be primarily the Germans love of the red shade that causes them to paint their barns in that color, but rather that the canny farmers have discovered that red oxide is more durable than any other shade. Precedent and the desire to have a suitable background for barn symbols might be contributory factors as well.

The fact that Amish barns are gray does not necessarily invalidate the economy motive, for although the Amish are a thrifty group, their desire for getting full value for money expended is secondary to their religious scruples against display. Gray is considered in better taste than oxide red.

Ellis and Evans¹ state that «A Pennsylvania German barn is usually two stories high, with a pitched roof, and is sufficiently large and strong to enable heavy farm teams to drive into the upper story, to load or unload grain. Today they are built largely of stone, frame, or brick, from 60 to 120 feet long, and from fifty to sixty feet wide, the lower story, containing the stables with feeding passages, opening on the front. The upper story was made to project eight or ten feet over the lower in front, or with a forebay attached, to shelter the

1. Ellis and Evans, *History of Lancaster County*, p. 348.



Mennonite Barn-west of Heading



Swiss overhang

entries to the stables and passageways. It contains the threshing floors, mows and lofts for the storing of hay and grain. The most complete barns of the present day have in addition, a granary on the upper floor, a cellar under the driving way, a wagon shed, with corn crib and horsepower shed attached ».



Barn Symbols – Sumneytown Pike near Lansdale

The first concern of a German farmer in developing a tract of land is to provide large and suitable accommodations for his horses and cattle. This building is considered of more importance than the dwelling house. The fine, large barns and stables are generally under one roof and designed in such manner as to enable the farmer to feed and care for his live stock with as much efficiency and as little trouble as possible.



Symbols - near Baumstown



Tulip motif - Terre Hill

One of the distinctive characteristics of many of the Pennsylvania German barns are the decorative symbols that have been painted on their sides. The purpose for affixing these designs remains unknown, some authorities holding them to be purely ornamental, while others suggest a religious significance. Dr Weygant¹, of the University of Pennsylvania, states «the symbols are supposed to keep lightning from striking the barn that has them painted on its wooden sides, and to prevent the animals housed in the barn from being bewitched or «ferhexed», as it is put in the vernacular».

Horace Mann, Curator of the Bucks County Historical Society, believes that originally the markings were indicative of Dutch superstitions, but at present are retained merely as a decoration. Present owners hesitate to remove them for the same reason that the average American hesitates to walk under a ladder, even though he denies being in the least superstitious. The crest in heraldry above the coat of arms, the designs on the shields of the tenth century Norsemen, the gaudily painted eyes on Chinese boats — these symbols seem to be the logical forerunners of the Pennsylvania barn designs, and it is no easier to justify the existence of the former than it is the latter.

It is a strange coincidence that the Bucks County Museum houses an unusually large number of wide arc wooden dividers. In view of the fact that these instruments were collected from farms and not from commercial painters, one might surmise that early

1. Weygant C., *The Red Hills*, p. 126.

farmers toyed with them much as does a schoolboy as he experiments with a small metal compass on his pad. The lack of conformity in the designs used tends to give some weight to this theory.

The Pennsylvania Dutch house is invariably a stone or a brick one, designed in rugged simplicity and yet well suited to the purpose of substantial living.

Much good meadow land is desired by every Pennsylvania German for the raising of beef steers. In the falls animals called «feeders», that is, steers which need fattening to fit them for market are shipped from the west to the farmers, who pasture them in autumn months and feed them through the winter, depending for their profit on the increase in weight and market value of the animals. Silage is largely used as feed for the stock in the winter.

Grass crops, such as hay, clover and alfalfa are widely planted, and this practice aids in keeping the soil in a fertile state. The Pennsylvania German well knows the importance of keeping the ground in proper condition and the necessity of feeding it. Steers are raised, in addition to the resale motive with a view to the manure produced, which is utilized by spreading it over the field as fertilizer.

Rotation of crops is scientifically practiced. The regular routine seems to be to plow the sod for corn once every five years. In the following year the same ground is put into oats, and when they are harvested in August, the ground is immediately manured for wheat. After the soil is carefully prepared, the wheat and timothy seed are put in with a drill, and in the ensuing spring clover is sowed upon the same ground.

By late July, when the wheat is harvested, the clover and timothy are growing, and will be ready to mow in the next, or fourth summer. In the fifth year the same grass constitutes a grazing field for the cattle, and then the sod is ready to be broken up again for yellow corn. In any event, ground is generally manured each year to assist the restoration of the legumes. Potatoes are planted in small quantities. A part of one of the oat or corn fields can be put into potatoes, and the ground will be ready by fall to be put into wheat if it is desired. Wheat is one of the principal money crops, and some successful farmers frequently put as much as one-third to one-half of their acreage in this grain.

Some of the finest tobacco in the world comes from the fields of the Amish farmer. This crop is especially exhaustive of the soil, and cannot be re-cropped year after year. The long leaves are used as « wrappers » for the inferior « fillers » of Virginia and states to the south. Leaf stems and stalks are cut into small pieces and are scattered over the soil in the fall to help restore the fertility. A prominent part of every farm is the tobacco barn with its removable side boards, so designed to facilitate the drying of the tobacco that is stored in it. Buyers from great tobacco houses come to the farms and purchase the crop as it hangs. A fine quality yield might bring fifteen cents a pound, while poorer grades are often unmarketable.

The feeding of livestock has been studied at length by the Dutch farmer and his apparent wastefulness in this respect seems an accepted fact to an uninformed observer. By feeding one-half to two-thirds as much



Harrowing



Franconia

more to this horses than does the ordinary farmer, the Amishman has discovered that his animals can do twice as much work as they would when fed according to generally accepted standards. A German horse is known in every part of Pennsylvania, so heavily is he muscled, and so powerful his breed. Mules at present however are displacing horses on many of the larger farms.



Tobacco barn showing drying facilities

Farm machinery, of the horse or mule drawn variety, is of the latest type and is always kept in excellent condition. Power machinery until recent years has been considered as being unprofitable.

The German's widely known fences are always high and well built as a protection against the inroads of his own or his neighbors horses, cattle and sheep.



Drying Tobacco



Tobacco near Neffsville

Shade trees are frequently fenced, especially in the cow pastures. The old worm fence, widely used when the land was being cleared and the farmer had a surplus of rails, has now been discarded as being too wasteful both of land and wood. The Dutch farmer never was especially favorable to this fence, even when he devised it, for it was annoying to him to see weeds growing in the corner angles where his plow could not enter due to the projecting post rails.

The interiors of the barns are frequently white-washed for the appearance of cleanliness, and each fall they are closely inspected to discover any possible break in the walls through which a cold winter draft might enter. The Pennsylvania German farmer discovered 200 years ago that animals, when cold, eat much more than when they are comfortably stabled.

The German farmers live thriftily in their families with regard to diet, furniture and apparel. They sell their most profitable grain, which is wheat, and eat that which is less profitable but more nourishing, either rye or yellow corn. A variety of home cured meats are eaten, with large quantities of vegetables, particularly lettuce, turnips, onions and cabbage, the last of which is made into sauerkraut. This dish is widely favored and is very wholesome, for the Germans do not allow it to ferment beyond the proper point. A large quantity of milk and cheese is included in the diet. Very few of them ever use distilled liquors in their families; their common drinks are cider, beer, wine and ordinary water.

The furniture of their homes is plain and useful, with a view to utility rather than ornamentation. The oft derided feather bed is found on every farm,

in summer and winter. No matter what the month, the feather quilt is found neatly folded at the foot of the bed, ready for use in case the emergency calls for it. These feather beds are warmer than blankets, and money is saved, for they are always made at home.

The German general farmer has large and profitable gardens near his house which contain little but useful vegetables. It has been authoritatively said that Pennsylvania is indebted to the Germans for the principal part of her knowledge of horticulture. There was a time when turnips, cabbage and potatoes were the principal vegetables that were used in the diet of the citizens of Philadelphia. This is not surprising, however, for it is known that the first English Settlers in Pennsylvania left England while horticulture was in its infancy in that country. With the settlement of a number of German gardeners in the neighborhood of Philadelphia, the tables of all classes of citizens soon became covered with a variety of vegetables.

The German farmwife has a great love for flowers. There are but few who do not find some time to give to their cultivation. The yard of nearly every Pennsylvania German farm house bears testimony to this fact. There are few houses in rural Pennsylvania the surroundings of which are not more or less beautified by flowering plants, often of the choicest kinds.

The German women help their husbands in many ways. They often do the milking, look after the poultry and attend to the garden in addition to their household work. They also assist frequently at certain kinds of work in the fields. The Dutch

farmer seldom hires farmhands. Their own families are generally large and boys are put to work at an early age, but even should a man be childless, his inherent thrift and industry would, in the long run, yield him a greater return were he to limit his farm to a size he could care for himself.

Unless persecution forces him, the average German farmer is not inclined to migrate. It is every Amishman's pride to pass his farm to his eldest son in a better condition than he received it from his own forebears. Friendship, the increasing value of farmland and a realization that « in union there is strength » also tend to strengthen the home ties of the Dutch. If a farmer fails his brethren help him to start again, giving aid as each is able. The old colonial spirit of Harvest Home and communal cooperation still exists among the Plain People, and a poor Mennonite it would be indeed who would refuse to help a fellow farmer caught unawares by storm or conditions beyond his control. Fathers help their own sons to start in life, and when a young Amishman marries it is customary for the youths father to « set him up » with a small farm. The bride, who always has an abundant store of towels, linens and the like generally contributes the major portion of the house furnishings. The Plain People use all the facilities of modern banks, but are extremely careful about contracting debts. Romans 13:8 counsels the Mennonites to « owe no man any thing ».

Many Germans are influenced in the sowing of their crops, the planting of trees, and the summer harvest by the aspects of the moon. This consideration of lunar phases has frequently been ascribed



Limekiln near Wernersville
(still in use)



Limekiln near Robesonia

to superstition, but be their interpretation of the « signs » true or false, the incontrovertible fact remains that they are America's most successful farmers.

Perhaps the public markets more clearly convey an appreciation of the variety and quality of the produce of the German fields than do the farms themselves. In Lancaster, for example, there are farmers markets at certain hours in three different buildings, on four days of the week. Early in the morning the farmer, his wife, and frequently an older daughter bring their chickens, ducks, cheese, pies, vegetables and countless other articles of food to their rented stall, and display them as only a Pennsylvania German can. Fowls are washed, scrubbed and trussed. Apples are polished, radishes neatly bunched, — flowers are everywhere in profusion ; and above it all presides the genial farmer and his wife, content with this world and justly proud of their wares.

It is a truism throughout Pennsylvania that a Dutch farm may always be distinguished from the farms of people of other national origins in the state by the color and greater size of their barns ; the plain but solid form of their houses ; the height of their fences ; the extent of their orchards ; the fertility of their fields ; the luxuriance of their meadows, and a general appearance of plenty and neatness in everything that belongs to them. The Pennsylvania German of today is primarily a man of the soil — whose home is the farm — whose joy is his work.

CHAPTER VII

Pennsylvania German Dialect

Pennsylvania Dutch presents marked variations, due to the limited intercourse of a widely-scattered, agricultural population and to the several dialects brought from abroad. These dialects have come chiefly from the region of the Upper Rhine and the Neckar. The language is therefore South German, being introduced by emigrants from Rhenish Bavaria, Alsace, Baden, Würtemberg, German Switzerland, and Darmstadt. There were also natives from other regions, with some French neutrals who had been deported from Nova Scotia and some Welsh who entered, but there seems to have been no fusion between Welsh, French and German.

Pennsylvania Dutch, strictly speaking, is a dialect which has been corrupted, or perhaps enriched, by English words and idioms under a modified pronunciation. It is spoken by natives, some of them knowing no other language, but most of them understanding English. Pennsylvania Dutch differs mostly from its related dialects in its abbreviations. Throughout its entire vocabulary one notices many words that

have been bodily taken from the English through the many years of contact with that predominant language.

Two hundred years ago Pennsylvania Dutch was a conglomerate aggregation of German dialects, but was entirely free from foreign corruption, and was thoroughly and purely German. Even when distorted as it is today, it is still, in its general form and spirit, the tongue of the Rhine, or « Pfälzisch », as it is there termed. The dialect spoken in America by the Pennsylvania Germans of 1937 is a direct inheritance from Rhenish ancestors, and barring its important English infusions, is substantially the same as when first brought here.

There is a shade of difference in the pronunciation, accent, and inflection of words of the Pennsylvania Dutch and Pfälzisch. Similar differences are noted in different German communities in Pennsylvania ; such discrepancies came about as a result of Germans speaking various dialects settling in the same neighborhood, with each contributing certain peculiarities to the common speech. Since, however, Pfälzisch largely predominated in the early days of the German emigration to Pennsylvania, it is that dialect which has given to the Pennsylvania Dutch its controlling characteristics evident today.

Foreign born Germans coming to this country and settling in English-speaking communities, notwithstanding their German training, will pick up many English words in a comparatively short time. These invariably filter into their German speech, although they are thoroughly conversant with their German equivalents.

Pennsylvania Dutch is not to be found in the counties along the northern border of the state, but it has extended into neighboring southern and western states. The dialect is spoken by a large part of the country population, and may be constantly heard today in the cities of Easton, Reading, Allentown, York and Lancaster. It has retained its greatest purity in Lehigh County. Only sixty years ago, seventy of the eighty Christian congregations in that county conducted their Divine services in Pennsylvania Dutch. It should be noted that it is not a denominational dialect; Lutherans and Reformed use it as much as do the Dunkards and the various branches of the Mennonites.

It is puzzling to English speaking groups that the dialect should continue to be used where the English language has been taught in the schools for more than a century, and where, with almost no exception, legal and business transactions are conducted in the same tongue.

There are many reasons why the people have retained a form of speech which, to outsiders, seems to be of so little value. The primary opposition to English speech may be traced to the different religious creeds which for so long a time have controlled a large portion of the population of eastern Pennsylvania. It is known that these sects, particularly the Mennonites and Dunkards, took very little interest in their civic duties, but rather did very much as they pleased. The majority being farmers, they felt that their acquisition of large tracts of land should free them from all obligations to the government as long they paid their taxes. They had no ambitions

beyond the accumulation of land and money ; social advancement meant nothing to them, a fact which accounts for the shameful condition of education which existed among them until the opening of the twentieth century. This persistent opposition to intellectual development might safely be said to be at the bottom of all the various causes which have encouraged the retention of the dialect.

Language, under these conditions, was of no concern to them ; the dialect of their fathers admirably filled their needs. The generally stubborn attitude of the Pennsylvania Germans made it exceedingly difficult for the American civil authorities to convince them that they should adopt English, since, by reason of population trends, their dialect could never become the popular speech of the country.

Another very important reason why the dialect is still so much in evidence may be traced to the early removal of the Scotch Irish settlers from the Dutch communities. It was generally believed that their number was too small to effect any change of speech, and that their farms could not compete in production and efficiency with those of the Germans. For these reasons they gradually withdrew, leaving the country to their more skillful neighbors.

Much of the responsibility for the retention of the dialect can be justly ascribed to Christopher Saur, the pioneer printer of America. His position among the Germans was prominent enough to have given him greater opportunity to foster the intellectual advancement of his people than any other pioneer in the settlements. So conservative was he however, that he openly urged the boycotting of the

English language in education, religion and business contacts. He accused the civil authorities of unfair discrimination and unjust taxation, and championed Dutch on the grounds that the adoption of the English tongue would be the entering wedge that would ultimately lead to social and economic domination. It is difficult to forgive his actions, for he was sufficiently well informed to understand the guarantees of the American Constitution. In spite of the able propaganda of Saur and the clannishness of the German people, the state must assume a degree of the responsibility for its negligence in failing to be more aggressive in its educational policies.

The Pennsylvania Dutch as spoken in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois is not divided into dialects as are the languages of many European states, but seems to be fairly homogeneous.

In studying the speech itself, one of the most interesting aspects of the dialect is the adopting and changing of English words, as —

Sie henn en guter *Tietscher* katt, der hot die Kinner vieler Leut *Getietscht*.

They had a good teacher, who taught the children of many people.

Ich will dir's *Ersplehne*.

I will explain it to you.

Er Hat mich *Inweitet*.

He invited me.

Do hat der *Eirisch* gemehut er wott *Triede*.

The Irishman thought he would treat.

Sie hen us nau long genug' rum *Gebaffelt*.

They have baffled us long enough.

The following dialogue is a homely example of the dialect as generally spoken today, 1937. The liberal adoption of English words is again especially noteworthy :

LAWYER. — Well, luss mich sana, ich galwb der bisht der Mr. Mack ?

Well sir — let me see — Mr. Mack, I believe.

CLIENT. — Yaw, Mack is my nawma.

Yes, Mack is my name.

LAWYER. — Well, Mr. Mack, was is de noddor fun der bisness ?

Well, Mr. Mack, what is the nature of your business ?

CLIENT. — Ei es is weaga meim shweega fodder siner eshtate settla.

Why, it is about settling up my father-in-law's estate.

LAWYER. — Hut or feel property hinnerlussa ?

Leave much property ?

CLIENT. — Well yaw, or hut si baueri, un hender, un notes un aw an ordlich grosser shtock uf der baueri.

Well yes, he left his farm, and some bonds and notes, and a good deal of stock on the farm.

LAWYER. — Un waer will adminishtrah ?

And who is going to administer ?

CLIENT. — Sell is evva weaga wass os ich dich sana will.

That is what I want to see you about.

LAWYER. — Well, Mr. Mack, di beshter waig is im arshita plotz meramobl an retainer fun tzwonsich dawler gevva, un sell gebt mer d'no an professional recht der my roat tzu gevva.

Well, Mr. Mack, your best way is in the first place to pay me a retainer of twenty dollars, and that will enable me to act professionally in the matter.

CLIENT. — Retainer! — Lussa mohl sae, sell mained denk ich, an lawyers fee?

Retainer! — let's see, that I suppose, means a lawyer's fee.

LAWYER. — Exactly so. Es is der arsht instahlment, as mer'n retainer haisa — for mich im case retains.

Exactly so. Being only the first installment, we call it a retainer — to retain me in the case.

CLIENT. — Yaw, now fershtae ich's. Well, dah sin de tzwonsich dawler. Now, Wass naigst?

Yes, now I understand. Well, here is twenty dollars. Now what next?

LAWYER. — Well fun ollem os du mer sawgsht is my advice os du widder coomsht un bringsht der Sam, di shwoger, fer mitnonner consulta un on de bisness gae.

Well, from all you have told me, my advice is that you come again and bring Sam, your brother-in-law with you, and then we'll consult him and proceed to business.

It is exceedingly difficult for a rural Pennsylvania German, when speaking English, to lose the inflections, intonations and tag ends of idioms and syntax. For example, it is not easy for the Bucks County

Menmonite when speaking English to identify some of the following pairs of words : bait, bake ; worth, worse ; very, ferry ; rib, rip ; half, have ; perch, purge ; keg, cake ; bog, back. Double consonants, as logging, locket only increase his difficulties. « Dutchisms » such as « already yet », « once », and « you betcha » at the end of sentences are frequently heard. Such expressions as « the pie is all » (meaning the pie is all gone), « pay the bread » (meaning pay for the bread), « give me the boots once », « run the stairs up and look the window out » still persist. « Outen the light » (meaning put out the light) is frequently heard. Unusual accenting, such as red' beets is common.

The transition of the language from high German to the dialect of today is illustrated in the following adage as found in the Pennsylvania Museum in Philadelphia :

English : « Live and let live ».

German : « Leben und leben lassen ».

Pennsylvania Dutch : « Mer mus lewa un lossa lewa ».

In America many new objects came into the Dutchman's everyday life and since he had no German counterpart for expression, he necessarily adopted the English word to his dialect. They had, for example, no familiarity with iron stoves before they came here, so the new household article became *eisenstove* (iron stove), using again the combination of German and English. *Carvingmessers* (carving knives), *gauls-blankets* (horse blankets) and similar words were adopted. Words like office, endorse, exactly, etc., are now unchanged and appear with the same spelling in both Dutch and English.

The following examples are illustrative of all the peculiarities of the dialect that have been mentioned in the consideration of this topic :

There are many handsome animals in the world-monkeys, elephants, kangaroos and goats, but women are far ahead of them all.

Es hut feel shaney creddoers in der welt-monkeys, ellefonta, kangaroos un gais beck, awer om end sin de weibslait ahead fun ena all.

Why judge before we know ?

Waurum judga eb mer wissa ?

How many acres of wheat have you ?

We feel acker waitza husht ?

There is no animal that is as laughable as a monkey.

Es is kae creddoor os so lecherlich is os an monkey.

Liver puddings are not fit to eat unless they have plenty of pepper.

De levver waersht sin for net fit tzu essa except ie hen plenty peffer.

Fat oxen afford excellent remedies for starving people.

Fetty uxa afforda first raty mittle for hoongeriche leit.

Sometimes I smoke cigars, but not regularly.

Ich der ebmahls cigars, shmoka awer net regularly.

On the fifth of next month my note will be due in the bank.

Om finfta fum naighsht moonot doot my note ferfolla in der bank.

Here is that dollar for mending my shoes.

Doh is seller dawler for my shoe flicka.

I'll give you my watch for yours and five dollars in the bargain.

Ich geb der my watch for diny un finf dawler in der barrya.

I cannot afford to eat so many peanuts — they are much too dear.

Ich con net offarda so feel groodnis tsu essa — se sin feel tzu dire.

You must remember that he is yet a young man, but old enough to have common sense.

Du moosht aw badenka os ar noch'n yunger mon is, Awer old ganook for plainer commoner fershtond.

The only apparent worth of the Dutch dialect today seems to be its usefulness as a means of oral communication. It remains a household, marketplace form of expression, largely devoid of cultural richness; a combination of German English verbs and English nouns.

The dialect has changed since the first Mennonites entered Germantown, Pennsylvania only as the number of English infusions has increased. Early reading matter prior to 1865 was generally printed in High German, and Luther's Bible was read in the church services, but, inconsistent as it seems, the sermons were invariably preached in Pennsylvania Dutch. It was not until about 1875 that English seriously displaced the Dutch dialect in church meetings. At the moment of writing church worship is conducted in English in all the congregations of the Plain People with the exception of a very few communities among the main groups of Mennonites and the ultra conservative Old Order Amish. Present

generation Mennonites and Dunkards read from an English Bible of necessity, for only a small fraction of their number understand the written word of their ancestors.

Pennsylvania Dutch newspapers are not printed, although one of the Lancaster, Pa., publications occasionally carries a Dutch column written in a humorous vein.

Many of the children of Dutch speaking parents today seem hesitant to admit that they can understand the dialect of their fathers; they apparently dread the risk of being termed, as so frequently and often unjustly occurs « Dumb Dutch ».

The language difficulty for the average Pennsylvania Dutchman is a real one; as serious for him as for any other individual, rural or urban, who is called upon to think in one language and express himself in another.

CHAPTER VIII

Superstitions

Professor George L. Kittredge of Harvard, an authority on witchcraft beliefs, has stated that a certain belief in witches and spirits is held by nine tenths of the human race. In consideration of this assertion it would seem that the Pennsylvania Dutch are not to be condemned for harboring their superstitions unless we are to condemn ourselves.

It has often been stated on good authority that so practical a person as a realtor experiences difficulty in renting any office suite whose door bears the number thirteen. In hundreds of American homes where the word « hex » has never been heard, that person will be considered foolish indeed who opens an umbrella in a room, particularly so if he stands under it. How many apparently informed persons will follow a circuitous route to overcome the evil that might befall them should a black cat cross their path? If twentieth century urban America holds to such superstitions, surely the imaginative fears of a rural, self-centered group can be more easily appreciated and understood.

The « hex » witch is still so definite a reality to many of the Dutch that it occasionally causes tragedies that reach the headlines of the daily papers. This « hexing » should not in any way be considered a religious manifestation, but is really a kind of medieval black magic.

The widely publicized « Hex Buch » is really a book akin to a faith healing manual, and is not a guide for the concoction of curse working potions.

The hex doctor, when stripped of his press buildup, is in many cases often reduced to a simple faith healer. If he is asked to cure a case of hysteria, he places the first knuckle of his thumb on the bare skin near the patient's heart and mumbles, « Matrix, patrex, lay thyself right and safe or thee and I shall on the third day fill the grave ». Since the difficulty might be largely a mental one, his cure might possibly prove as efficacious as that of the recognized physician. With a few exceptions, the few remaining pow wow doctors of Pennsylvania German Land are not charlatans, but ordinary folk who use the power of autosuggestion on their patients. Physicians are called for any serious ailments.

« Hexing » is passing away just as rapidly as are superstitions everywhere. The Dutch hex doctors keep their incantations closely related to the Bible, and reiterate scriptural mottoes.

The Germans never reached the emotional pitch or frenzy over their « hexing » that the believers in the Puritans' witches approached. It is undeniably true that there are many regions « back country » where the belief in hexing is retained, but this is

natural to hill folk in any condition of society be they in the Great Smokies or in the Pennsylvania Highlands.

The irrational fear of the mysterious that is so well exemplified by the varying beliefs in the power of « hexing » is best seen among Pennsylvania German farmers. In their work in the fields they still consider the significance of the superstitions prevalent in their own section, and many of them freely admit that they are guided in their planting and harvesting by their personal belief in the power of omens, signs, charms and other supernatural indications. In Lancaster, Berks and Lehigh Counties many of the following superstitions are still accepted as being of definite value to the successful farmer :

A hot summer portends a cold winter.

In proportion to the height at which spiders build their webs in August will be the depth of snow the coming winter.

A dry April and a wet May are favorable for a large crop of hay.

When the horns of the moon point downward, there will be rain.

When corns ache ; when a cat or dog eats grass ; when roosters sit on a fence — rain must be expected.

If the sun sets under a cloud on Wednesday, rain will follow before Sunday.

A ring around the moon betokens rain or snow.

If the rooster crows at 10 P. M., it will rain before morning.

If chickens run for shelter when it commences to

rain, the rain will not last long ; but if they run around in the rain, there will be more rain.

Many superstitions are also prevalent today that concern themselves with the treatment of diseases, personal injuries and general physical well being. Incantations of a crude sort are frequently involved :

It is believed that rheumatism can be cured by carrying a horse chestnut in the pocket or by tying a dried eelskin around the affected joint.

Nosebleed might be stopped by chewing a piece of newspaper or by recalling who last sat next to the afflicted in church.

For a toothache, one should pick the tooth with a splinter from a tree struck by lightning.

Weak eyes should be washed with water from March snow.

An egg boiled in rainwater caught before sunrise and pierced with three holes and left to be eaten by ants will keep an individual from wasting away.

To remove freckles, one should wash them with water from an old stump.

Warts might be removed by rubbing them with pieces of potato, and then burying the latter under the corners of the house.

A buckwheat cake placed on the head will remove pain ; and breathing the breath of a fish will cure whooping cough.

Goitre is cured by looking at the waxing moon, passing the hand over the diseased part and saying, « What I see must increase, what I feel must decrease ».

The « wasting away of children » is remedied by

measuring the child and having it greased by certain old women.

Along the Susquehanna, where ague formerly prevailed, the patient who had a chill was tied to a tree by a long string; he ran around the tree until the slack in the string was taken up and it snapped. This procedure tied the chill to the tree.

A former remedy for whooping cough, one by which the miller was greatly bothered, was to put the child into a hopper with grain, and allow the child remain there until the grain was entirely ground out.

Blood stopping is quite common. If a man cuts an artery, it is customary to call in the blood stopper, who presses his hand on the bleeding part and repeats mysterious words as he raises his eyes to heaven.

In case of hemorrhage from the nose, a wound, or any other cause for excessive bleeding, a common cure was to wrap a red woolen string around each finger; another was to lay an axe under the bed with the blade edge upward. There are also prayers for stopping blood, always in Dutch.

Horses and other animals are often said to be bewitched. It has happened that a « bewitched » horse frequently has been found to have a nail in his hoof.

Bleeding from wounds, or even the lungs, according to a Norristown resident, can be stopped by repeating a religious rhyme; nor was it necessary to be said on the spot; the sorcerer could go home to repeat his incantations.

It is frequently believed that a woman who has been ill should never « come downstairs » on Sunday,

even though she be improved in health. Disregard for this bit of wisdom results in early death.

Birthmarks can be removed by passing the hand of a dead person over the imperfection.

To cure an earache, the patient is taken to a blacksmith shop, where a pair of tongs is heated and held close to the affected part.

General Superstitions

In addition to medical and farming superstitions, the Pennsylvania Dutch have a host of general ones. Some of the more frequently occurring ones are the following :

If children take a looking-glass and go down the cellar-stairs backward, they might see therein the form of a future spouse.

Lead is melted and poured into a cup of cold water, expecting to discover some token of one's future occupation.

At Hallowe'en women melt lead and pour it through the handle of the kitchen door key. The figures are studied, and supposed to resemble soldier-caps, books, horses, and so on.

Persons born on Christmas night can see supernatural things and hear mysterious sounds. « One person who made fun of the idea was told to go out into his stable feeding-room to listen. He lay down on the hay, and while there, one of the oxen said, « Day after tomorrow we will haul our master to the graveyard. His funeral was on that day » (In the Palatinate many peasants still believe that as it strikes twelve on Christmas Eve, all animals talk together).

In Northampton County, at Hallowe'en, girls meet their companions and melt lead into water to tell their fortunes. They also fill their mouths with water, so that they cannot speak, as speaking breaks the charm. Having done this, they walk around a block of houses. The first name which they hear is supposedly that of their future spouse.

A door key is tied within the leaves of a small Bible, the handle remaining out. Two girls rest the handle upon their fingers, and repeat some cabalistic verse, each line of which begins with a different letter; the key will supposedly turn at the initial of the future mate.

Sewing on Ascension Day is wrong. « A girl once sewed on Ascension Day; there came a gust and killed her ».

Salt cake is eaten by girls in Lancaster who then go to bed backward without speaking and without drinking; and he of whom they dream is to be their future husband. This is supposedly also a custom in Germany.

The most universal of superstitions are those connected with the signs in the almanac. It is here that the German farmer learned now to plant his crops.

« Grain should be sowed in the up going; meat butchered in the down going will shrink in the pot ». (The up and down going refer to the moon).

If a mother of a family is dying, the vinegar barrel must be shaken at the time to prevent the mother in it from dying.

The last person who goes out of a house at a

funeral will be the next one to die. (As groups begins to thin, people slip very nimbly out of a back or side door to avoid being the last one.)

Farmers chalk strange crosses on their barns and cowsheds, supposedly in order to free their horses and cattle from the evil effects of witchcraft. Some parents move about the house muttering strange conjurations when their children are sick, in order to cure them of their ailments. Stress is laid on a variety of peculiar magical formulae or practices which the pow-wowers or witch doctors prescribe as cures for different diseases.

A cricket chirping on the hearth is a cause for happiness, as is the arrival of a black cat that comes of its own accord.

If a person spills salt, he should throw some of it over his left shoulder.

A wish can be made upon a silver coin if a new moon is seen over one's left shoulder.

A spider's web on the grass in the morning is a sign of rain.

A sure sign of disaster to come is the hooting of an owl at one's bedroom window. The wild eyes, outstretched wings, and fluffed feathers against the window say that he who sleeps within is doomed.

If a child crawls through an opened window he will not grow.

A child born on Sunday will develop pride. One born on the thirteenth of the month will have no luck.

For a person to step over a child that is lying down will retard the child's growth.

Whatever one dreams the first time he sleeps in a strange place will come true.

Bubbles on a cup of coffee denote money.

A person who wears round holes in the soles of his shoes will become rich, while one who wears holes in the seat of his trousers will become poor.

If one gets out of bed backward, things will go badly for him all day.

When two persons are walking together, any one who walks between them will take away their luck.

For the cat to wash herself, or for the dog to roll on the floor is a sure sign that visitors will come.

If one goes in a house, he should sit down, lest he take away its peace.

Good luck is taken from a house when a stranger enters it by one door and leaves it by another.

When the youngest in a family gets married, those who are not married must dance in a pig's trough if they too want to be married.

A rose seed, a mustard seed and the foot of a weasel held in a fisherman's hands will make the fish bite.

In order to learn anything easily from a book, one should put the book under his pillow before he goes to bed.

To prevent a quarrel after salt has been spilled, some of the salt should be burned.

A person should never make a present of a pin, a knife, or a pair of scissors; nor hand to another person anything of that sort with its point toward the person to whom handed, lest it injure or sever a friendship.

CHAPTER IX

Education

The opinion exists among many persons today that until recent years the Pennsylvania Germans have been unalterably opposed to all education. This opinion may be judged as being true or untrue only according to one's definition of Education. If a college certificate alone is indicative of an understanding intellect and the mark of having attained a satisfying mode of living, the Pennsylvania Dutchman is definitely found wanting; if education might be defined as the preparation for a preconceived life work, the son of the Dutch farmer can justly be considered as being exceptionally well trained.

In considering the attitude of the Plain People toward education, it must always be remembered that they are mainly a rural, home-loving group whose chief interests rest in their homes, their soil and their immediate families.

Instilling « old virtues » is considered the basis of all education. Obedience, helpfulness, courtesy, thriftiness, cleanliness and reverence — such are the accepted primary educational principles of the rural

Dutchmen. Children are trained on a pattern — a pattern that largely excludes all instruction that would take a child from the soil. While consolidated schools, with their broader offerings, are today increasingly displacing the more narrow curriculum of the « little red school house », there is, on the part of the parents, a genuine reluctance to forego the long accepted standards.

The old rules, as given by that famous Mennonite schoolmaster Christopher Dock, today appear quaint and perhaps occasionally amusing, but it is true that the spirit of his famous set of standards today forms the basis of preschool child training in the majority of farm homes. The rules were designed to cover all the experiences of a child's daily life, and as published by Christopher Sauer in 1770 are divided as follows ¹ :

At and After Getting Up in the Mornings

Accustom yourself to awaken at the right time in the morning without being called, and as soon as you are awake get out of bed without delay.

On leaving the bed fix the cover in a nice, orderly way.

Let your first thoughts be directed to God in prayer.

Offer to those who first meet you and your parents and brothers and sisters a good morning, not from habit simply, but from true love.

Learn to dress yourself quickly but neatly.

1. Education among the Pennsylvania Germans, Pa. German Society, vol. VII, number 4.

Instead of idle talk with your brothers and sisters or others, seek also while dressing, to have good thoughts. Remember the clothing of righteousness which was earned for you thru Jesus, and form the resolution not to spoil it on this day by intentional sin.

When you wash your hands and face do not scatter the water about the room.

To wash out the mouth every morning with water and to rub off the teeth with the finger tends to preserve them.

When you comb your hair, do not go out into the middle of the room, but to one side in a corner.

Do not eat your morning bread upon the road or in school, but ask your parents to give it to you at home.

Always be on time for school.

In the Evenings at Bedtime

After the evening meal, do not sit down in a corner to sleep, but perform your evening devotions with singing, prayer and reading before going to bed.

Undress yourself in a private place, or if you must do it in the presence of others, be retiring and modest.

Always look over your clothes to see whether they are torn, so that they may be mended in time.

Do not throw your clothes about the room, but lay them together in a certain place, so that in the morning you can easily find them again.

Lie down straight in the bed modestly, and cover yourself up well.

Before going to sleep, consider how you have

spent the day, thank God for His blessings, pray to Him for the forgiveness of your sins, and commend yourself to His merciful protection. Should you awaken in the night, think of God and His omnipresence, and entertain no idle thoughts.

At Meal Times

Before going to the table where there are strangers, comb and wash yourself very carefully.

During the grace, do not let your hands hang toward the earth, or keep moving them about, but let them, with your eyes, be directed to God.

During the prayer do not lean or stare about, but be devout and reverent before the majesty of God.

After the prayer, wait until the others who are older have taken their places, and then sit down quietly and modestly.

At the table sit very straight and still. Do not wobble with your stool and do not lay your arms on the table. Put your knife and fork upon the right and your bread on the left side.

Avoid everything which has the appearance of eager and ravenous hunger such as to look at the food anxiously, to be the first in the dish, to tear off the bread all at once in noisy bites, to eat quickly and eagerly, to take another piece of bread before the last one is swallowed down, to take too large bites, to take the spoon too full, to stuff the mouth too full, etc.

Stay at your place in the dish, be satisfied with what is given to you, and do not seek to have of everything.

Do not look upon another's plate to see whether he has received something more than you, but eat what you have with thankfulness.

Do not eat more meat and butter than bread ; do not bite the bread off with the teeth ; cut regular pieces with the knife but do not cut them off before the mouth.

Take hold of your knife and spoon in an orderly way and be careful that you do not soil your clothes or the tablecloth.

Do not lick off your greasy fingers. Use the fork in place of the fingers in eating.

Chew your food with closed lips and make no noise by scraping on the plate.

Do not wipe the plate off either with the fingers or the tongue. Do not lean your elbows on the table when you carry the spoon to the mouth.

Do not take salt out of the salt box with your fingers, but with the point of your knife.

The bones, or whatever remains over, are not to be thrown under the table nor put on the tablecloth, but let them lie on the edge of your plate.

As much as possible abstain from blowing your nose at the table, but if necessity compels, turn your face away or hold your hand or napkin before it ; do the same thing when you sneeze or cough.

Learn not to be delicate and over-nice, or to imagine that you cannot eat this thing or that thing.

Should you find a hair or something of the kind in the food, put it quietly and unnoticed to one side, so that others may not be moved to disgust.

Do not put back in the dish what you once had on your plate.

If you want something across the table, be careful not to let your sleeve hang in the dish or to upset a glass.

At the table do not speak before you are asked to.

When you drink you must have no food in your mouth and must incline forward courteously.

Before and after drinking the mouth ought to be wiped off, not with the hand, but with a handkerchief or napkin.

At the table be ready to help others if there is something to be brought into the room or other things to be done that you can do.

After leaving the table give thanks to your Creator who has fed and satisfied you.

Rules for Behavior of the Child in School

Always be obedient to the teacher.

Should you be punished for bad behavior, do not, either by word or gesture, show yourself impatient or obstinate, but receive it for your improvement.

Abstain in school from useless talking, by which you make the work of the schoolmaster hard, annoy your fellow pupils and prevent yourself and others from paying attention.

When you recite your lesson read loudly, carefully and slowly, so that every word and syllable may be understood.

Keep your books very clean and neat, do not write or paint in them, and do not tear or lose any of them.

When you write, be careful of the ink.

Do not crawl under benches or desks.

Do not scratch the head.

How a Child Should Behave on the Street

Show yourself modest at all times.

Never hang from the back of a wagon.

Take no pleasure in indecent games.

If any known or respectable person meets you, make way for him, bow courteously ; do not wait until he is already near or opposite to you, but show to him this respect while you are still some steps from him.

*Rules for the Behavior of a Child in Meeting
or Church*

Bring your Bible and hymn book to church with you, and sing and pray very devoutly, since out of the mouths of young children will God be praised.

During the sermon be attentive to all that is said.

Do not talk in church and if others want to talk with you, do not answer — if you are sleepy, stand up a little and try to keep it off.

When the name of Jesus is mentioned or used in prayer, uncover or incline your head.

If you with others should go in couples into or out of the church, you should never, from mischief, shove, tease or bespatter, but go forth decently and quietly.

*Rules for the Behavior of a Child Under Various
Circumstances*

Be courteous to all people you meet.

Accustom yourself to be orderly in everything.

When your parents send you on an errand, mark well the purpose for which you are sent, so that you make no mistake.

Be never idle.

Do not pervert your time, for which you must give an account to God, with cards or dice.

From what money you have, willingly give to help the poor.

If anything is given to you, take it with the right hand and give thanks courteously.

Do not be sulky or rebellious.

Whether a stranger or good friend comes to the house, be courteous to him, bid him welcome, offer him a chair and wait upon him.

In sneezing, blowing the nose, spitting and yawning, use all possible decency and consideration.

Never go about nasty and dirty. Cut your nails frequently and keep your clothes neat and clean.

In laughing be moderate and modest. Do not laugh at everything and especially at the evil or misfortunes of other people.

If you have promised anything, try to hold to it, and keep yourself from all lies and untruths.

Let what you see of good and decent in other Christian people serve as an example for yourself.

The author of the above rules, in addition to writing the first systematic American Treatise on Pedagogy (his *Schulordnung* « School Management » 1750) was the first Mennonite schoolmaster in America to advance the project method of work.

He disowned the rod, the customary stimulus to colonial education, in favor of personal encouragement

and an appeal to the students sense of pride. He rewarded individual progress with pictures of birds, animals or biblical characters and tried to shame the laggard into doing better work by sending him to the foot of the recitation bench. In the lower grades the child who had learned his lessons well received open classroom commendation but the disinterested child, if capable, was addressed as «faul» (lazy) by teacher and pupil alike.

When, under the sting of such disgrace in the eyes of his fellow classmates the unfortunate student corrected his errors all cried in unison «fleiszig» (industrious).

Docks great success as a teacher both in the eyes of his students and his fellow Mennonite churchmen seems to have rested in his love for his students. In his Schulordnung he says «A slap of the hand or the birch rod may keep wickedness from manifesting itself but it cannot change the heart».

The cooperation of parents was always sought by Dock. When a child had mastered an especially difficult unit of work he always suggested that the father give it a penny and that the mother boil it two eggs.

Very little time was allowed for play during the school day. Although an hour was generally given for lunch the master spent the major part of it reading stories from the Old Testament lest the children should misuse their leisure.

In his classroom teaching Dock always tried to oppose the common faults of children which he mentions as swearing, stealing, pride, quarreling and lying — «an old time sin since Adam». He never

hesitated to drop class lesson work to correct, as he considered them to be, the «primary evils».

The «Master of Skippack» died in 1770 at prayer in his one room school. He is still considered by many of the more conservative Plain People to typify, with but few modifications, a teacher well worthy of present day emulation.

The Pennsylvania Dutch, in the main, seem to harbor a definite distrust toward formal education beyond the primary grades. While this fact is frequently attributed to their natural conservatism, there is an historical basis for their apparent backwardness.

Many of the leaders of the Anabaptists, notably Grebel and Hubmeir, were men of real learning, but the rank and file of their followers were of the common people, with but little learning outside of a more or less thorough knowledge of the Bible. These leaders, although educated men themselves, impressed on their hearers that university training was not necessary for the preaching of the Gospel. As a consequence, after the early leaders died, formal learning largely disappeared among their followers, and it was not until the beginning of the eighteenth century that it was again revived in Europe.

In 1701 the Mennonites and Quakers established the Germantown Academy, with Pastorius as first teacher — the only bright spot in a dark period for higher education among the Plain People.

In the period from 1720 to 1730, many of the Dutch who had already been established at Germantown and its vicinity moved farther west into the



Amish All.



«The «Little Red School House»

Counties of Montgomery, Berks, Lancaster and Lebanon, where they took up the most valuable tracts of land and where many of them soon began to prosper. While the Scotch Irish were busy most of their time in battling the French and Indians, the sects, on account of their conscientious scruples against war, were allowed to remain at home and tend to their fields.

Profiting by such favorable circumstances, they soon became the strongest financial factors in the community and easily held the balance of power in the affairs of local government. Although abundantly able to give their children the benefits of higher education, they steadfastly refused to build any schools other than those of a most primitive character. The individual who occasionally professed a desire to learn English was looked upon with ridicule.

The gist of the much mooted school question was the difficulty in deciding whether the Dutch or English language was to be used in the classroom. The English, not unnaturally, looked upon the Dutch dialect as an obstacle to the speedy and complete assimilation of the Germans to the English community, which, in the early days of suspicion of all things foreign, was a consummation much desired. The Germans have been much blamed in the affair, and doubtless it would have been better for them if, by means of the school, they had become more easily Anglicized. Their feeling of resistance to the English however was a natural one: they did not want to give up their own language, and they were well satisfied with their own schools. They frequently

misunderstood the motives of the English, whom they felt to be foisting their philanthropy upon them, and they resented being treated as « ignorant boors ».

The general opposition of the Pennsylvania Dutch to the common school was also due to the fact that it tended to withdraw education from the supervision of the parents and of the church. As H. A. Muhlenberg¹ wrote in 1836, « The Germans of our State are not opposed to education as such, but only to any system that to them seems to intrench on their parental and natural rights ».

The Germans always believed that the child belonged first to God, then to the parents, and lastly to the state. The sole purpose of early education seems to have been to prepare the children for a ready acceptance of the doctrines of the church, without any reference to their duty to the state that sheltered them. The vast majority of the people were farmers, and due to that fact, saw no reason why their children should know more than they themselves, — thus considerably retarding educational opportunities. It was considered sufficient to the fulfillment of worldly needs that a child should learn to write and « cipher » and be able to read sufficiently well to understand the Bible, hymn book and the newspaper. Such schools as were erected were conducted entirely in German and the teachers, as a rule, were men or very little formal education.

When Pennsylvania passed its Free School Law in 1834, the Plain People were in distinct opposition.

1. Kuhns O., *German and Swiss Settlements of Pennsylvania*, p. 149.

Sel g'sets mocht unser tax-bill gros
Un benefit die schtot-leit blos
S'kauft uns kens blots,
net mohlen ghoul
Un mocht yusht unser kenner foul.

Such was the slogan that ran through Pennsylvania German Land at the time, and served to create an even greater enmity among the farmers of that period, an enmity that still persists among the most conservative groups. It cannot be rightfully said that love of land or money was the chief cause of the opposition of the Plain People to a wider dissemination of the facilities for higher education. They wholeheartedly believed that a knowledge of material things beyond the scope of their immediate rural needs would bring about the same dissensions that had driven them from Germany, — outrages that had been perpetrated, they maintained, by men of learning. It is unfortunate that the guarantees of the American type of government could not rid their minds of this ever present fear. All learning was associated with theology, and they were determined that the latter, formalized, should never gain a foothold in America. In consequence, any change in the simplicity of their conduct was considered to be a direct violation of their creed.

It is difficult to reconcile the differences between the Pennsylvania Germans and the New England Puritans in the educational field. The farmers of Pennsylvania had succeeded in accumulating considerable property and wealth before the Puritans were able to boast of a comfortable living, and yet the latter had built academies and colleges long

before the farmer had provided even ordinary school facilities. The religion of the Puritan was as exacting in its demands as was that of the Plain People, and yet this fact in no way tended to interfere with the growth of educational opportunities. — The New Englanders were quick to recognize the need for trained men to solve the problems of government, while the Germans of Pennsylvania, unfortunately, sought only seclusion, privacy, peace at any price, and the right to pass their days on the soil. With aims so diametrically opposed, the educational resistance so evident today can be more easily understood.

It is perhaps unfair to place the entire responsibility for the present educational and social backwardness of the sects entirely upon religious and agrarian influences. It is true that the provincial authorities had passed an act as early as 1683, which provided for English as well as German schools in the settlements. Primary education was thus made available for rich and poor alike, and a penalty of five pounds was provided for every parent or guardian who failed to comply with the law. This statute, however, received but scant general attention, and was never faithfully and equitably enforced. In 1776 laws were created that provided for the erection of school houses in every district, but while that law carried more force than the one of 1683, it was more honored in the breach than the observance, and it was not until 1834 that Pennsylvania passed a really meaningful free school law. This historic enactment, unfortunately, made it the prerogative of the individual counties to accept or reject its provision at the polls, and it was not until 1874 that the last

county adopted the free school law and made it operative in every section of the Commonwealth.

There are evidences today that an educational awakening is asserting itself among the least conservative of the groups. The automobile, the telephone, the radio, the market place contacts — these are factors that are increasingly making more difficult the regimentation so desired by the farmer parent. It is nothing short of remarkable that the sects have resisted the invasions of modernity so long. Ridicule and accusations of « ignorance » have not swerved the more conservative groups from their cherished concepts. Today they faithfully continue their policy of adolescent indoctrination, much as in the past.

An assertion concerning the ultimate outcome of the struggle between church, home and school could be nothing but pure conjecture. The following article, however, appearing in a Mennonite publication, is perhaps representative of the thoughts of an ever increasing number of the Plain People concerning advanced education.¹ :

« There are many reasons why, when it is at all possible, at least a High School education should be gotten. But, when there is the chance, by all means get a college education ; but get it in an institution where the instructors are not of the type to undermine the Word of God ».

Many of the Mennonite groups, especially the Pennsylvania branches, are distinctly not in favor of church schools and have consistently refused to

1. The Youths Christian Companion — Mennonite Publication of Pennsylvania, Aug. 19-1923.

patronize the three institutions that the Mennonite Board of Education now sponsors. In 1903 Goshen College was established, and in 1909 the Hesston College and Bible School of Kansas was founded. The creation of both these institutions was largely due to the efforts of a few liberally minded men who realized that many talented young Mennonites were forsaking their own church in their efforts to receive an advanced education. Their total combined enrollment at present is approximately 400. The Eastern Mennonite School near Harrisonburg, Va., has at present only a Junior College rating.

CHAPTER X

Obligations to the State

The Plain People have long been criticized because of their non conformity to many of the regulations that are generally considered as being necessary to the successful operation of democratic government. In their refusal to swear oaths, vote, hold public office and render military service, they have experienced disapproval in the form of ridicule, public denunciation, federal fines and open accusations of treason. Despite all persecutions however, the Plain People still put the word of God above the laws of man whenever the latter appear to be in opposition to the former.

Perhaps in no way is the sectarians strict adherence to the Bible more clearly seen than in their conduct in the courts. Here, when called upon to testify the Mennonite simply affirms, basing his action upon the rules of his church which substantiate his stand as follows :

« Regarding the swearing of oaths ¹, we believe

1. Dortrecht Confession of Faith, article 15, Swearing of Oaths.

and confess, that the Lord Jesus has dissuaded his followers from and forbidden them the same ; that is, that he commanded them to « swear not at all » ; but that their « Yea » should be « yea » and their « Nay, nay ». From which we understand that all oaths, high and low, are forbidden ; and that instead of them we are to confirm all our promises and covenants, declarations and testimonies of all matters, merely with « Yea that is yea » and « Nay that is nay » ; and that we are to perform and fulfill at all times, and in all things, to every one, every promise and obligation to which we thus affirm, as faithfully as if we had confirmed it by the most solemn oath. And if thus we do, we have the confidence that no one — not even the government itself — will have just cause to require more of us ».

Matt. 5 : 34-37. — But I say unto you, Swear not at all ; neither by heaven ; for it is God's throne ;

Nor by the earth ; for it is his footstool ; neither by Jerusalem ; for it is the city of the great King. Neither shalt thou swear by thy head, for thou canst not make one hair white or black.

But let your communication be, Yea, yea ; Nay, nay ; for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil.

Jos. 5 : 12. — But above all things, my brethren, swear not, neither by heaven, neither by earth, neither by any other oath ; but let your yea be yea ; and your nay be nay ; lest ye fall into condemnation.

II Cor. 1 : 17. — When I therefore was thus minded, did I use lightness ? or the things that

I purpose, do I purpose according to the flesh, that with me there should be yea, yea, and nay, nay ?

The Rules and Discipline of the Franconia Conference, the Oldest of Mennonite Conferences in America, clearly elucidate the groups hostility to active participation in the administration of government, — national or local.

« Members are not to accept any public office. It is considered advisable to abstain from voting » ¹.

Jno. 18 : 36. — Jesus answered, my kingdom is not of this world ; if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews ; but now is my kingdom not from hence.

II Cor. 6 : 14. — Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers ; for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness ? and what communion hath light with darkness ?

Phil. 3 : 20. — For our conversation is in heaven ; from whence also we look for our Savior, the Lord Jesus Christ.

While the Mennonite has been frequently criticized because of his stand on the oath, voting and the holding of public office the indignities he thereby suffered were insignificant compared to the storm of denunciations that have descended upon him and his fellow sectarians by their refusal to render military service in time of war. Their beliefs in this field admit of no varying interpretations. The church feels

1. Rules and Discipline of the Franconia Conference (Revision of July, 1933).

that God never advocated the use of the sword for any purpose, and that he who relies on it immediately disowns his faith by breaking one of the fundamental Ten Commandments. Although the Dunkards will assist as surgeons, nurses, ambulance drivers or spiritual advisors, the Mennonites stoutly refuse to become a part of war in any way, maintaining that participation lends approval. The Italian doctrine, so frequently heard today, that the soul belongs to God and the body to the state appears untenable to the Mennonite, since he feels that God created both.

Article XIV of the Dortrecht Confession of Faith presents the church's beliefs on the subject in the following manner.

Defence by Force

« Regarding revenge, whereby we resist our enemies with the sword, we believe and confess that the Lord Jesus has forbidden his disciples and followers all revenge and resistance, and has thereby commanded them not to « return evil for evil, nor railing for railing » but to « put up the sword into the sheath » or, as the prophets foretold, « beat them into ploughshares.

Matt. 5 : 39, 44. — But I say unto you, That ye resist not evil ; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek turn to him the other also.

But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you.

Rom. 12 : 14. — Bless them which persecute you : bless, and curse not.

I Pet. 3 : 9. — Not rendering evil for evil, or railing for railing ; but contrariwise blessing...

Isa. 2 : 4. — And he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people ; and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruninghooks ; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war anymore.

Micah. 4 : 3. — And he shall judge among many people and rebuke strong nations afar off...

« From this we see, that, according to the example, life and doctrine of Christ, we are to do no wrong, or cause offense or vexation to anyone ; but to seek the welfare and salvation of all men ; also, if necessity should require it, to flee, for the Lord's sake, from one city or country to another, and suffer the « spoiling of our goods » rather than give occasion of offense to anyone ; and if we are struck on our « right cheek, rather to turn the other also » than revenge ourselves, or return the blow ».

Matt. 5 : 39. — (see above).

Matt. 10 : 23. — But when they persecute you in this city flee into another...

Rom. 12 : 19. — Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath ; for it is written, vengeance is mine ; I will repay, saith the Lord.

Rom. 12 : 20, 21. — If thine enemy hunger, feed him ; if he thirst, give him drink ; for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head.

Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good.

Finally, that we are to do good in all respects, «commending ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God, and according to the law of Christ, do nothing to others that we would not wish them to do unto us.

Matt. 7 : 12. — Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so unto them ; for this is the law and the prophets.

Luke 6 : 31. — And as ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise ».

The path of the Mennonites in defending their scruples is an interesting one to follow.

Due to the non resistant principles held by the Quakers the Plain People were never pressed to render military service, but when Penn's followers fell from power in 1756 matters soon became involved.

During the Revolution the Pennsylvania Assembly and the Continental Congress heard the pleas of the conscientious objectors and excused them from armed service with the provision that the objecting member furnish a substitute who was to be paid by a church assessment.

Volunteers fought the War of 1812, and the duration of the Mexican War of 1845 was so short that the Plain People were not affected.

As the Civil War progressed, and as drafts became increasingly more inclusive the Mennonites, Quakers, Dunkers and Moravians sent petitions to Congress

expressing their views and urging their representatives to work for their exemption.

On February 24, 1864, Section 17 of the Conscription Act freed the non-resistant sects from active service in the following terms:¹

«And be it further enacted, that members of religious denominations who shall by oath or affirmation declare that they are conscientiously opposed to the bearing of arms and who are prohibited from doing so by the rules and articles of faith and practice of said religious denominations, shall when drafted into military service be considered non-combatants, and shall be assigned by the Secretary of War to duty in hospitals or to the care of freedom or shall pay the sum of \$ 300 to such person as the Secretary of War shall designate, to be applied to the benefit of the sick and wounded soldiers : Provided, that no person shall be entitled to the benefit of the provisions of this section unless his declaration of conscientious scruples against bearing arms shall be supported by satisfactory evidence that his deportment has been uniformly consistent with such declaration.»

The Spanish American War, as the War of 1812, was fought with volunteers, again causing no difficulties to the sectarians.

The World War, with its Compulsory Draft Acts tested the Plain People more severely than any previous conflict.

On June 5, 1917 all able bodied men between the ages of twenty one and thirty one were compelled to register at their respective polling places. When,

1. United States Statutes at Large, vol. 13, ch. XIII, sec. 17.

two months later, a number of young Mennonites were drafted for service overseas, a committee of Old Order Amish, Brethren and Mennonites went to Washington and an interview with Secretary of War Baker was arranged. On September 14, 1917 the difficulties were settled under the following terms ¹.

1. That none of the brethren need serve in any capacity which violates their creed and conscience.

2. When they are called they should report at the place designated on their notice.

3. From the place designated on their notice, they should go, with others, who are drafted, and called, to the training camp.

4. Report to the army officers the church to which they belong and their belief in its codes and principles.

5. This non resistant position will place them in detention camps, where they will be properly fed and cared for.

6. In these camps they will not be uniformed nor drilled.

7. A list of services considered non combatant will be offered, but they need not accept any in violation of their conscience.

8. Those who cannot accept any service, either combatant or non-combatant, will be held in detention camps to await such disposition of their case as the Government may decide upon.

9. Our ministers will be allowed to visit the

1. J. S. Hartzler, *Mennonites in the World War...* Scottdale, Pa., 1921.

brethren at these camps and keep in touch with them.

10. Our ministers will be privileged to give this information and advice to our brethren in private or in public meetings.

Most of the objectors were soon furloughed from camp duty to farm service. Upon their discharge from the service many of the Mennonite conscripts returned their pay to the Government and the Conference paid their young men for the time they had spent «in witnessing for Christ»¹.

The Mennonites were never wholly favorable in their reactions to the pressure brought to bear upon them by patriotic organizations in the effort to sell War Bonds. On September 18, 1918 one Rhine W. Benner of Linville, Virginia was fined one thousand dollars and costs for advising the members of his congregation not to buy War Stamps².

During and after the War the Mennonites were quick to assist in the relief of war sufferers abroad. Between 1917 and 1920 the Franconia Mennonites contributed \$ 849,058.97 to the work, or approximately ten dollars for each member in the Conference³.

1. Wenger, History of the Mennonites of the Franconia Conference, Mennonite Historical Society Telford, Pa. 1937, p. 74.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 162.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

CHAPTER XI

Architecture

It is frequently assumed in Pennsylvania that the Georgian architecture of the early eighteenth century is the only influence worthy of mention in any consideration of architectural forms. While it is true that it was the prevailing popular style when Pennsylvania was settled, it is unfair to deny that the Germans, skilled artisans that they were, did not follow their homeland tradition and partly develop a style of their own as they revised their customary architectural patterns to the needs of their new homeland.

Architectural beauty, beyond the mere demands of necessity, develops only when leisure and wealth are available to foster it. Unfortunately, neither of these elements in any way influenced the hard working German settler, whose primary concern was mastering the soil. The religious austerity and the lack of proprietary interest among the Germans were additional factors that retarded the growth of an ornate and graceful style. Solidity, austerity

and primitive detail — such are the factors that today express the background of the early German settlers.

There is a certain stern mediaevalism about Dutch buildings that impresses the observer with their strength, their utility and their general lack of grace and lightness. Decaying log houses, steep-roofed stone cabins, red brick « square » homes, many-storied mills, huge barns — these are today's evidences of an architecture created by necessity, by the demands of a primarily agricultural economy. The architecture of the Pennsylvania German farmer reflects his culture as surely as his speech, his well tilled fields, or his home life.

It is unusual that German buildings show so little evidence of having been influenced by the Italian Renaissance, the movement that so greatly affected the English designers during the reign of the Hanover kings. Although the influence of the movement east of the Rhine was extensive, it is a curious fact that somehow the dominant medievalism of the Germans was not submerged. Architecture, in the final analysis, seems to be an expression of the spirit of a people. Acceptance of this hypothesis may perhaps make it more readily understandable how a German building can be medieval when all its component forms are Renaissance. It is the dominant note in a complete architectural composition that determines the thinking of its designer. Cornices, architraves, pediments, gables and similar forms are not important in themselves, but only as they make the whole. In considering Pennsylvania German architecture as a unit and in studying the plates

illustrative of its peculiarities, this fact must not be lightly dismissed.

Building Methods

There were no professional architects in colonial Pennsylvania. George Washington designed Mount Vernon and Thomas Jefferson planned his home at Monticello. Many influential early Germans did likewise. Master builders were frequently their own designers and generally incorporated distinctive features into every building they erected. Thus the structures of the early Pennsylvania Germans were often directly the products of their owners and the mechanics who assisted them, and these latter were invariably German artisans. Stock materials bought in shops came into general use only with the middle of the nineteenth century; carpenters of previous years cut and sized their materials by hand. Beams were hewn of well seasoned oak and fitted into place with infinite patience. Due to the demands for solidity, the early builders incorporated more mass in their dwellings, barns and churches than safety factors demanded. Walls of some of the early German stone houses were frequently two feet thick, and the ponderous fireplaces were frequently of a size that made them difficult to fuel. Master builders wrought to a large extent from memory, or from such documents as they may have possessed as part of their trade equipment. Details, such as mouldings and casements were frequently as characteristic as the entire architectural form they helped to create.

Home Architecture

The first home of the German settler in America was generally a log one of about fourteen by sixteen feet in size. The logs were cut about twelve to eighteen inches beyond the length required, to allow for the hangover at the corners. Logs were prepared for the construction in many ways, the most common method being to simply cross them at the corners with a rude kind of notching.

A second type utilized an interlocking notched corner that eliminated the overhang of the logs that a simple crossing necessitated. This construction is the type most frequently found today and seems to have suited the patient and sturdy German joiners.

A third type, of dressed logs, had the corners dovetailed. This model is infrequently seen, but is common to the log buildings of southern Germany and Switzerland.

In all three of these types the logs were generally piled to a height of ten to twelve feet. The cracks were filled with chips, and daubed with clay and mud, crudely split lath sticks and mortar, or smaller timber with mortar joints.

A fourth type is a transitional form, of log construction, but dissimilar to any of the former three in that its axe-dressed logs are mortised and pegged into an upright hewn corner post. Diagonal braces are added and are notched in flush with the wall and are securely pegged. If the walls were turned around so that the horizontal logs appeared vertically,

the whole would represent perfect mediaeval half timber construction, closely spaced.

The interiors of these early houses were rather primitive. Mr. G. A. Brumbaugh¹ states : « Mud and lime plaster were applied over handsplit oak laths, which in turn were nailed diagonally across the inside of the logs ; trim of the simplest sort ; sometimes a few panelled doors or a chair rail, and more frequently battened doors and plain walls. Two rooms on the first floor generally sufficed, a narrow kitchen and a wider living room with a chimney between. The great cooking fireplace thus occupied most of one long side of the kitchen and it is probable that German stoves of tile or iron backed up to the chimney in the larger room on the other side ».

Benjamin Franklin in his pamphlet on fireplaces published in 1744, well describes these famous stoves, as he wrote : « The German stove is like a box, one Side wanting. 'Tis composed of Five Iron Plates scru'd together and fixed so that you may put the fuel into it from another room or from the Outside of the House. 'Tis a Kind of Oven revers'd, its mouth being without and Body within the Room that is to be warmed by it. This Invention certainly warms a Room very speedily and very thoroughly with a little Fuel. No quantity of Cold Air comes in at any Crevice, because there is no Discharge of Air which it must supply, there being no Passage into the Stove from the Room. These are its conveni-

1. Pennsylvania German Society Proceedings, *Colonial Architecture of the Pennsylvania Germans*, Oct. 23, 1931.

ences. Its inconveniences are, That People have not even so much Sight and Use of the Fire as in the Holland Stoves, are moreover obliged to breathe the same unchanged air continually, mixed with the Breath and Perspiration from one another's Bodies, which is very disagreeable to those that have not been accustomed to it ».

The use of these « Five Plate » stoves explains the fact that the chimneys of Pennsylvania German houses were placed in the centre of their dwellings. Today, since the fireplace holes have long since been walled up and the old stoves replaced, many observers wonder, with reason, how the large living room was ever heated. In 1902 the Rev. P. C. Cross ¹, in his description of the half timbered Moravian School House of Oley Valley, well evidenced the limits to which knowledge of the old stoves had survived. He wrote : « The house has four rooms on each floor besides a wide hall across the building. One of the rooms on the first floor seems to have been used for a kitchen on account of its having a large fireplace. One of the queer things noticeable is that the other rooms do not have any signs of being heated in any way. In the hall on the second floor there is an open fireplace on opposite sides in the large chimney, but none in the rooms. The same holds true in the first floor. If the surrounding rooms were to be heated from this fireplace through the doors entering the hall, I am sure there were some chilly days for scholars in those times ».

1. *Ibid.*

The second floor of the early log house was never furnished, but presented a foreboding barn-like appearance. It was reached by a ladder-like stairway and generally used as a storage place.

Although the early Germans built their log cabins as solidly as their materials allowed, they were quick to realize that greater permanency and comfort would be possible with a substitution of stone for the wooden logs they first used.

Stone cabins, though once relatively numerous, are today becoming increasingly more difficult to find. Perhaps the best examples extant today are the Herr House, near Lancaster ; the Ephrata House ; Fort Zeller, near Robesonia ; the Weiser House in East Womelsdorff and an unidentified cabin in West Schafferstown.

These cabins were all built of native stone and possessed refinements not found in preceding types. It is noteworthy that they were frequently built above a live spring, either for convenience in winter time or as a precaution against an Indian siege. The latter view, however, seems somewhat secondary, for there was no direct passage from any of the rooms to the water supply. Interiors were generally whitewashed with the same general interior arrangements that prevailed in the log cabins. Roofs were occasionally tiled, a distinctly European heritage. Tiles were sometimes used as a flooring material, though they appear in such a role but rarely. The windows were noteworthy in their variety, some being doublehung, while others were in opening casements. Segmental and full round arches

contributed much to the mediaeval aspect of German stone buildings and enhanced their massive strength.

In later years, as the industry of the Germans created wealth beyond immediate needs, many large houses and churches were built in a style that became increasingly more ornate. The new architectural embellishments were never achieved, however, at the expense of mass, but continued to breathe an all powerful mediaevalism. Decorative date stones became common, and quaint painted designs on interior and exterior walls, on built in corner cupboards and on the sides of barns were in vogue.

German roofs after 1775 seemed to become unusually steep, giving the severe aspect of height to the buildings. Dormers occasionally broke the great spread of roof surface, but in many of the finest dwellings they were frequently omitted. Such an omission again emphasizes the ever present conviction that sensitivity to curve and lightness was never a part of the German consciousness.

Perhaps no single trip could prove of more value to the student of Pennsylvania German Architecture than a visit to the Moravian buildings at Bethlehem. Its seminary group contains the typically Germanic features of central chimneys, hipped gambrel roofs, diagonal board doors, square tiled floors, cornices with scrolled ends, double storied dormers, roof kick at eaves, relieving arches, heavy log wall posts, jigged board stair railings, heavy medieval archways, partial gable sheathing, and double barge boards. Although Renaissance cupolas and railings have been added to the pure forms of the original designers

they have not detracted from the dominant German note, but have only served to emphasize by contrast the rugged strength that supports them. The natural hillside setting of the buildings above their quadrangle serves to enhance the Oldworldliness that they seem to typify so beautifully.

Any building, any style of architecture is not important for its details but for the whole impression



Early Log Cabin – Schaefferstown

it conveys, for the spirit it personifies. Much as the Palace of Versailles breathes the spirit of the splendor of the reigns of Louis XIII and Louis XIV, much as Independence Hall typifies colonial America ; — in like manner do the architectural remains of the Pennsylvania Germans express their inordinate

love of physical strength, with but few vestiges of the delicacy and refinement so evident in French and Italian styles.

The appended photographs have been included in an effort to convey a greater understanding of the underlying character of the architecture of the Pennsylvania Dutch. Should the reader find his interest more than passing, he should make a leisurely trip to Lancaster, Ephrata and Bethlehem, and further his appreciation in the field.



Old Cabin — Schaellertown



Corner Detail



Hans Herr Stone Cabin-near Lancaster



Corner Detail - near Brickerville



German Church - Trappe.



Gable and Window Details
Moravian Seminary - Bethlehem



Double Dormers - Moravian Seminary - Bethlehem



Gambrel Influence - 1937
East Nazareth

CHAPTER XII

Monasticism

In 1720 there came to live with Peter Becker, well known Dunkard preacher at Germantown, a young German named Conrad Beissel, — accomplished baker by trade, contentious Presbyterian by faith. Soon after his conversion and baptism by his host into the Dunkard faith, he became convinced that the church was in error in observing its day of rest on Sunday ; rather should it be the « Seventh » day as, he contended, the Scriptures designated. About 1725 he published a tract that purported to prove his contention. Its chief result, however, was to create a furor in the church, a discussion so pointed that the author separated from Becker and his fellow Dunkards and wandered to a cave along the banks of the Cocalico Creek in Lancaster County. Here he intended to lead the life of a hermit in an effort to honestly enlighten himself concerning the true meaning of the Scriptures. When after about a year Beissel's abode was discovered, a group of his former co-religionists who sympathized with his views immediately came and settled about him, and so made

possible the founding of the Seventh Day Baptist Church in America, a group entirely distinct from the Dunkard group. In 1728 the group formally adopted the seventh day as the proper one for public worship.

In 1732 plans were laid for a set of buildings designed to foster the pietistic views of the group, and in 1733, on their completion, the first Protestant Monastic Society in America was formed. The first buildings of importance were Kedar and Zion — a meeting house and convent, which were erected on the elevation appropriately termed Mount Zion. Soon after the completion of the buildings, neighboring groups, suspicious of the aims and methods of the Cocalico faction, and accusing the Brethren of being papal representatives, openly attacked them and tried to burn both Kedar and Zion. They met with no success and the fame of the settlement spread much in proportion as it survived its persecutions.

The enmity of the opposing groups was considerably increased when two women, Anna and Mary Eicher left their husbands and requested permission to live in the seclusion of the community. Beissel was not deterred by the objections of his brethren, and a house was erected for the women in 1735 on the opposite bank of the creek. Originating the Ephrata Sisterhood. In the same year the spiritual fervor of Beissel became so strong that a great revival swept the group, and applications for adherence became increasingly more numerous.

The zealotness of the faith of the pietists has frequently been questioned, but it seems beyond

doubt that anyone who would leave the comparative comforts of a colonial home for the hard life of the monastic settlement must be motivated by a more than ordinary belief in things spiritual:

In 1740 there were thirty five sisters as well as thirty six single brethren in the Cloister, and the buildings of the group were necessarily enlarged and increased. In 1741 the present Sister House, Saron, was completed, adjoining the Saal built a year previously. Five years later the name of the building was changed to Sharon, and the Sisterhood was also renamed and henceforth known as the Roses of Sharon.

The first floor of the Saal is a low room or Chapel, constructed of heavy beams of hand hewn poplar, and few changes have been made in it since its dedication in 1741. There are no interior decorations except the Scriptural texts in quill writing known as Frakturseriften. The benches used at the love feasts in the Saal are the original ones and are today arranged as they were in 1750. A curiosity of the Saal are the footprints on the ceiling that have defied all efforts to remove them. They have been explained as being either the bloody footprints of Revolutionary soldiers or the apostolic method of punishing the brethren. What seems more probable however is that some of the brethren who frequently greased their feet to keep the skin from cracking inadvertently walked over the unseasoned timber before it was placed in the ceiling. There was scant use of iron in the construction of the building, supposedly due to the teaching of the old dispensation relative to the building of the Temple, but probably more

as result of the fact that nails were forged by hand in colonial America, being in consequence quite expensive. Wooden plates and candlesticks were generally used and wooden blocks served the purpose of the flatiron.

A Brother House, Bethania, was also erected, but this building, being of inferior workmanship, had to be torn down some years ago in the interests of safety. Around the massive Sisters' and Brothers' Houses were smaller buildings, variously serving as printing office, infirmary and bake house.

The two houses for the brethren and sisters were very large, being three or four stories high, with a chapel in each for midnight devotionals. The main buildings were individually divided into fifty or sixty small compartments or cubicles, so arranged that a number of rooms which were barely large enough to contain a bench, a block of wood for a pillow, and a small closet surrounded a common room. The ceilings in the Sisters' house, which still stands, are about eight feet high; the passages leading to the various rooms, or « Kammern » as they are called, are barely wide enough to accommodate a single individual — no passing was possible; the doors opening to the cubicles were but five feet high, so designed to teach humility. Each room had a single window about eighteen by twenty inches in size, the very largest ones in the meeting rooms being but thirty by thirty four inches.

In dress the brothers and sisters were inordinately plain. Both sexes adopted a modification of the dress of the Capuchins or White Friars; the men wore a shirt, trousers, a long gown and a monk's



Sisters House and Church
Ephrata



Ephrata

hood ; the sisters, a skirt, gown and a rounded hood. The sisters frequently wore large aprons and capes, the material being leather or wool according to the weather conditions. The brothers allowed their beards and their hair to grow long, went barefooted and lived mainly on a vegetable diet to insure, as Beissel said, « real health and a ripe old age ».

All who entered the Cloister were given monastic names, and Christian and family names were frequently dropped entirely. The title of « Father » was bestowed by the Society on Beissel, whose monastic name was Friedensam, to which the brethren afterwards added Gottrecht, implying together « Peaceable, God-right ».

The Ephrata community might be termed a republic, in which all stood upon perfect equality and freedom. Contrary to general procedure, no monastic vows were taken, nor had the group any written contracts. The New Testament was their confession of faith, their law giver and their discipline.

All property belonged to the community but no one, on entering the Cloister, was forced to give up his own possessions. The group was supported by the income of its farm, grist mill, paper mill, fulling mill, pottery and basket weaving industry.

The Ephrata Society had very definite views on social and religious problems. They carried the principles of non resistance and simplicity of dress and bearing far beyond the demands of the Dunkard Church. Beissel considered the desires of the flesh and all ambition for success in this world as unworthy of Christians, things to be completely suppressed. Celibacy and the monastic life they considered to

be the only means of attaining a close contact with God. It is odd, since Beissel and his brilliant successor Peter Miller supported celibacy, that they did not demand the single state of all adherents in the Cloister. There were, however, three orders in the community — the Sisterhood of the Order of Spiritual Virgins and the Brotherly Society in Bethania, which were celibate and monastic, occupying their separate buildings and being most truly characteristic of early Ephrata. The real spiritual work of the community centered about these individuals and they were regarded as examples of the virtue and goodness to be aspired to by all who would attain a closeness with God. The third, or married group, lived beyond the borders of the Cloister in friendly exile, but participated in the general meetings for worship with the celibates. Denunciations of the single state are few, only four or five leaving the Cloister to be married in the hundred and more years that celibacy was considered the preferred state of existence.

The daily life of the Ephrata celibate was not an easy one. Arising at five, he observed a matin until six. Physical work followed until breakfast at nine. From this hour until five he worked in the mills, cultivated the soil or engaged in some form of bodily labor. The evening meal came shortly after six and lasted until seven. The time from seven until nine was occupied with writing, reading, study and devotions. From nine the brother slept until midnight, when he arose for an hour of song service. From one to five the second period of rest was given — rest well earned and needed.

Gossiping was frowned upon in the cloister and loud laughter was thought to be inconsistent with piety.

Perhaps in no other field was the genius of Beissel so clearly seen as in the realm of music. He is today justly considered by critics as being the most picturesque figure in the history of Pennsylvania German music in the eighteenth century. He not only evolved a new system of singing, but is credited by some scholars as being the first composer in America.

Beissel's companions at Ephrata were voluntary exiles, seeking to enjoy greater mental and moral independence and growth of the spirit. Music was, as a result of this outlook, particularly fostered, and to some extent refined. Many specimens of their music, in manuscript, have been preserved in the beautiful and artistic Cloister penmanship of the writing room. While many of the compositions were written for two parts, most of them seem to have been written for four voices. There were also quite a number written for five, six and seven parts. The rendition of the music was as unusual as the music itself, and was sung in a falsetto voice with nearly closed lips—a half humming. This true style of Ephrata vocal music virtually died out with the community.

The chief peculiarity of the Ephrata music was the fact that although it was written in measure, it was free, and that the accent of the words rather than the accent of the measures governed the meter. The correct rhythmical value of the notes, as understood in modern music, was not considered. The first notes were frequently lengthened, as were the emphasized words in the course of the

hymns. Consequently, three, four, five, six and even seven notes are found in a measure, which in modern music would probably have but four.

Choirs and singing schools were early started at Ephrata under the direction of Beissel, who was supposedly a good singer and well accomplished with both violin and harp. As Choirmaster, he regularly conducted singing school on certain evenings in the Sister House. The sessions lasted four hours, from eight o'clock until midnight. To impress upon his followers' minds the necessity for purity of heart, he required the members of the choir to appear in snow-white garments, a regulation to which he himself strictly adhered. Another rule that he laid down in the development of his choir system was the placing of the different voices on a distinctive diet, a practice that was believed to favorably affect strengthening of the vocal chords and to help in developing a wide range of the voice. The diet for bass and tenor singers varied in the same measure as did that for altos and sopranos.

The music for the choirs, largely of Beissel's composition, was written on sheets by the sisters of Saron, in a room of their house devoted solely to transcription. More than 400 hymns of his composition were thus copied in the great Ephrata hymn-book. At one time the repertoire of the Cloister numbered over 1,000 original compositions.

Not only was Beissel a rather prolific composer, but he also wrote the first American treatise on harmony. In examining his compositions it is obvious to the student of music that beyond the most rudimentary knowledge of the

common chord and its inversions, he had but little understanding of the laws of harmony and none whatever of meter and rhythm. It has been estimated that Beissel and his associates composed over 800 hymns, — in spite of their apparent ignorance of the fine points of composition. The « Wegrauchs-Hugel », the community's largest hymn book, was the first book ever printed in German type in America. The Ephrata Press, so famous for its Wunderspiel, the above mentioned Great Hymnal and the Menonite Martyrs Mirror, did much to carry Ephrata music and its interesting peculiarities to later generations, both here and abroad.

One cannot leave the Ephrata Brethren without an acknowledgment of their contributions to our national developement. But few citizens of America are today aware of the fact that the United States, in a certain sense, possibly owes its very existence to one of the Brethren, the Heidelberg graduate, Peter Miller. It was he who translated the Declaration of Independence into seven different languages in a very short time, and so made it possible to obtain the allegiance of various sections of the country to the great document. It was essential that the Germans, French, Dutch, Swedes and the various other groups that composed America understand the statements made in the Declaration, and that they understand them quickly. It is oddly paradoxical that when a comparative degree of unity for the Revolution was achieved in the colonies, it did not come about as a result of well conceived propaganda, but rather sprang from the willing hand of a sincere, God-fearing pacifist.

The Ephrata Society has long since passed from existence and its rapidly disintegrating buildings are but sad reminders of a noble past. It is fortunate that at the moment the Pennsylvania State Legislature is considering their restoration. Music, industry, national welfare and the invaluable leaven of honest piety — the Cloister should not be forgotten.

CHAPTER XIII

Conclusions

For the past 100 years the Plain People have been denounced by certain critics as being self-centered and unpatriotic reactionaries, and have been praised by other observers as being the «salt of the earth, the little leaven that leaveneth the whole lump». In view of the diversity of apparently informed opinions expressed by qualified students of these early sectarians, the implication for the general reader is obvious — any fair estimate of the Plain sects must depend upon the point of view of the observer. He whose all dominating ambition is to assure himself of his final entrance into Heaven will commend the aloof and exclusive ways of the Plain People, but the individual who believes in the ideals of democracy, who feels that a nation can become only as great as its educational opportunities — such a person necessarily remains more or less skeptical of what appear to be sound virtues.

One wonders how any group can long survive the dominant tide of progress, no matter what its course. To date no group, large or small, has successfully

withstood the moving spirit of its age ; seclusion has invariably led to retrogression and material decay.

The Plain People recognize full participation in the activities of democratic government as contrary to the admonitions of the Scriptures, since all governments approve the use of force, and consequently refuse to participate in its administration. Other groups in America, similarly calling themselves Christians, recognize the real and potential evils of any form of government, yet nonetheless share in it, — some with an aim of improving it. This point alone perhaps illustrates the great cleavage as well as any other, and serves to emphasize the importance of the point of view.

It is a strange paradox that aside from his refusal to use the vote, hold office, and serve in war, the Amishman is America's ideal citizen. He pays his taxes and just debts punctually and without question ; he gives to the poor and asks nothing in return ; he accepts no « relief » ; he cares for the improvident of his own sect and his thrift and frugality are widely commended.

Although frequently called the « Dumb Dutch » because of their marked conservatism, the Dutch as a class disprove the misnomer by the weight of facts, not heated denial. College agricultural courses are unknown to them and yet their farms have made Lancaster County widely known as the « Garden Spot of America ». In all fields of economic endeavor they seem, as a class, to enjoy more than average success. Admiring critics attribute their prosperity to their good sense and unremitting labor, their tenacity and pride of accomplishment. The

skeptic, be he honest or dishonest, points to the lack of educational opportunities, the penury, the savings effected through self denial of radios, telephones, concert tickets, fine clothing, and many other so called cultural advantages. The Amishman in rebuttal (but it is a certainty that he would refuse to debate the point) could, if he cared to, go to his Bible and give a Scriptural basis for every detail of his daily life. With such a defense his inquisitor's assertions concerning the demands of democracy and the spiritual elevation of instrumental music would be rendered unworthy of discussion. So thoroughly have the Plain People examined the Scriptures that they can quote, on request, the definite location of the book, chapter and verse that justifies any particular statement or view they might hold.

The following are of interest to one who would understand their thinking, their mode of worship, their very code of life : Feet washing, sisters' devotional covering, I Cor. 11 : 2-16 ; anointing with oil, Jas. 5 : 15, etc. ; marriage only in the Lord, I Cor. 7 : 39 ; divorce contrary to the Spirit, Matt. 19 : 5-9 ; non conformity in dress, in association, in business or politics, Romans 12 : 2,; no oaths, secret orders or life insurance Matt. 5 : 33-44, II Cor. 6 : 14, Jeremiah 49 : 11 ; obstinate sinners to be expelled, I Cor. 5 : 13 ; obedience to magistrates within Gospel limits, Romans 13 : 1-7, a final judgment, eternal reward and punishment, II Cor. 5-10, Matt. 25 : 4-6 ; unaccountable children to be saved, Mark 10 : 14 ; no infant baptism, practice non resistance, Matt. 5 : 36-37, Matt. 26 : 51-52, Luke 9 : 51-57, II Cor. 10 : 4, Romans 12 : 19-21 ; opposition to salaried ministers,

Isa. 55 : 1, Matt. 10 : 8, I Peter 5 : 2 ; commercializing high calling, II Peter 2 : 3, a hindrance to preaching the truth, II Tim. 4 : 2-4.

According to Matthew 5 : 40 and I Corinthians 6 : 1-8, it is unscriptural for a churchman to take an aggressive part in law suits. Many other references might be here quoted that deal with such obscure matters as the cut of the hair and the length of the beard.

No critic questions the appropriateness of the proof, but many students debate the literal manner of the interpretation of the Biblical verses, especially so when they are used in an effort to justify the small points that have caused so many unfortunate cleavages in the past. As an example of his thinking the critic uses the Amishman's justification for his beard, Leviticus 21 : 5, « They shall not make any baldness upon their head, neither shall they shave off the corners of their beard, nor make any cuttings in their flesh ». It would seem that if a literal translation were to be taken appendectomies would be outlawed. Leviticus further says, Chapter 20 : 33-34, « and if a stranger sojourn with ye in your land, ye shall not vex him. But the stranger that dwelleth with you shall be unto you as one born among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself ».

In no field is the loyalty of the Plain People to the Bible more clearly shown than in their firm policy of non resistance in time of war. The expediency of a crisis, the appeals of the chauvinist, the tempo of martial music, even the threat of a federal prison, — nothing swerves the sectarians from their convictions. They negate all attempts to change

their view by again having recourse to the Bible and its Ten Commandments. « Thou shalt not kill » admits of no varying interpretations to the Plain People. The remarks of a Mennonite of the Franconia Conference are interesting on this question — his logic is rather pointed. « What would happen if we all refused to fight ? Who would do the killing ? When Moses got the Ten Commandments there weren't any if's and and's connected with the instruction not to kill your fellow man. Look what Gandhi's done in India. Don't you think it takes more courage to lie down in front of an armored car and be crushed to death, than it does to grab a gun, and encouraged by the belief that you are saving humanity, run a knife through a man. No man can kill his brother with God's approval ». The critic again cites the threats of dictators, but the Mennonite listens and points to the Law of Moses.

The Plain People believe in showing other groups what they themselves feel to be the faith, but they do not attempt to proselyte if their advances are not appreciated. In the words of a Dutch Reformed minister, « they want to be left alone ». This desire for seclusion, so noticeable to the traveler passing through their country is not, in justice to the people, any evidence of hostility — rather is it a legacy from the Palatinate days when persecutions perpetrated by apparently cultured groups forced them to become refugees and engendered a distrust for things today called « progressive ».

Perhaps the point that has caused the Plain People, particularly the Amishmen, to become increasingly alarmed concerning the maintenance of the status

quo is the ever increasing sharpness of the conflict between the «new» and the «old» in education; between «The Little Red Schoolhouse» and the modern consolidated school. Of recent years the State of Pennsylvania has erected a number of large plants in the interests of economy and better educational opportunities. The Amishmen have decried this tendency as being too worldly; it was contrary to their church, they held, to contract a bonded indebtedness. The idea of bus transportation for their children also caused them considerable concern.

In the summer of 1937 a group of Amishmen came to Philadelphia, presented their views, and succeeded in obtaining an injunction that temporarily stopped the erection of a consolidated school in East Lampeter Township, Lancaster County. When construction was resumed and the school opened for classes in September a number of Amish parents openly refused to allow their children to attend. The Evening Bulletin of Philadelphia quoted one Jonathan Zook as saying, «I'll go to jail first». The Amishmen at present plan to appeal their case to the Supreme Court. In fairness to the objectors, it must be said that they do not oppose education as they conceive it, but rather that they fear there is much in the modern curriculum of the new education that tends to make a boy dissatisfied with the habits of his fathers. Perhaps at the base of it all is a belief that the social and classroom contacts will wean their children from the farm and the simple faith. In a land where education is free and tax supported, the opinions of any objectors must be heard, but democratically, the will of the majority

must prevail. The Amishman might learn a lesson from the Quakers, Catholics and other groups that maintain parochial schools and so fulfill state requirements, — and inculcate their own doctrines simultaneously. No American can rightfully deny his fellow citizen his own opinions — why the Amishman has not adopted the parochial system remains more or less a mystery. It is more than unfortunate, it is a pity, that the honest piety, the sobriety, the industry and the numerous other virtues of these people cannot somehow be grafted to the main trunk of American life as it exists today. Much mutual benefit would undoubtedly accrue from such an accomplishment.

Among the leaders of the Mennonites and Brethren there have been some very definite indications that a change from the old concepts is necessary in the interests of self survival. Dr. C. H. Smith¹, of Bluffton College, senses present needs when he writes, «The Mennonite denomination is passing through a critical period of its history. The two questions of most vital importance to the future of the church are its relation to the unification and the question of a more liberal education for its young people. The denomination will never take the position which rightfully belongs to it in the religious world until it passes favorably upon both these questions ».

Dr John Hartzler² strengthens the contentions of his fellow churchman considerably when he main-

1. C. H. Smith, *The Mennonites of America*.

2. Dr John Hartzler, *Education Among the Mennonites of America*.

tains, « Perhaps the major weakness of Mennonitism and the cause of most of the internal difficulties, lies in the fact that the denomination has never set itself to one great and consuming task of world betterment, either religiously or educationally... There will never be great accomplishments in the denomination until some great, consuming purpose captures the attention and effort of its people to the extent that all minor and non essential differences, likes and dislikes, fade eternally out of sight.

What Mennonitism needs today, above all things, is a great religious, ethical, educational and social objective laid upon its heart and conscience with the authority of Jesus Christ back of it, this objective to be nothing less than the eternal Kingdom of God so earnestly taught and lived by Jesus Himself. The objective implies three things : First, vital and constructive religious education. Second, a didactic evangelism which seeks the divine laws of life, one which is educational rather than dogmatic, vital rather than traditional. And third, a qualified Christian ministry ; a ministry which implies a personal experience with God and truth, a divinely inspired vision of the whole world, and a passion for service which knows no retreat or defeat ».

It is as difficult to predict the reaction of the Mennonites to their leaders' challenge as it is to evaluate the relative virtues and faults of Amishmen. It does seem reasonable, however, to suppose that the customs of 200 years will not be easily relinquished. Simplicity, non conformity, seclusion, the general feeling among the Brethren that they are « strangers and pilgrims here and seek a city whose builder and

maker is God » — it seems somewhat difficult to reconcile such time honored concepts with the views of Dr. Hartzler, with the views of the twentieth century. While it is true that a Mennonite or Brethren preacher chosen by lot according to Acts 1 : 15-16, might be an able person, such a belief does not preclude the possibility that he might be made a more useful one if given an advanced education. Under present thinking, however, if university diplomas were to be considered a prerequisite to the occupancy of a Mennonite pulpit the inviolability of Acts 1 : 15-16 would be threatened and serious internal dissension would follow — dissension of a type that has caused sad cleavage in the past.

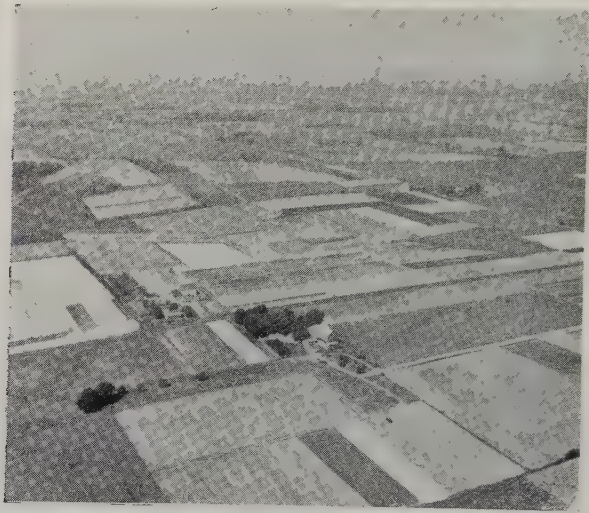
While observers, casual and critical, occasionally find themselves in disagreement with some of the beliefs and practices of the Plain People, there is, as a result of this honest skepticism no less respect and esteem for those who hold them.

The judgment of any group or any individual must be made upon virtues as well as faults. One should consider the standard of the Scriptures : « By their fruits ye shall know them ». In the broad final analysis there is no question but that these sturdy people, by their pious lives, the practice of their simple faith, and their devotion to what they believe to be right, have made a generous contribution to the religious and economic life of the Eastern United States. It is to be hoped that their contributions in the future will be as substantial as those of the past.

Le Président de Thèse,
G. CONNES

VU :
Le Doyen de la Faculté des Lettres,
G. CHABOT.

VU ET PERMIS D'IMPRIMER
Le Recteur,
E. SPENLÉ.



Then plow deep
While sluggards sleep ...

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APPENDIX

I

The following bibliographical notes have been prepared in an effort to assist the student or general reader who is desirous of widening his familiarity with the topics of the foregoing study. Papers and monographs have not been included, for their titles are self-explanatory of their contents. Books omitted are not to be considered irrelevant to subject material or unworthy of inspection; notations have been limited in an effort to avoid any possible duplication in content or treatment.

- Angeli, *Henner's Lydia*. Well illustrated. A child's book - life among the Amish children.
- Brumbaugh, *A History of the German Baptist in America*. Excellent material on a very limited field.
- Diffenderffer, *The German Immigration into Pennsylvania*. Well written, easily read and reliable.
- Frederick, *The Pennsylvania Dutch and Their Cookery*. An excellent book for the beginner. Contains interesting chapters on Art and Cultural Attainments.
- Gibbons, *Pennsylvania Dutch and Other Essays*. Good material on Schwenkfelders; interesting appendix; really a written travelogue.
- Hartzler, *Education Among the Mennonites of America*. Treats Institutional Development; much material on the Sunday School; Christopher Dock and his Educational Philosophy.
- Horne, *Pennsylvania German Manual*. Dictionary and Dutch Primer.
- Kauffman, *Mennonite Cyclopedic Dictionary*. Invaluable for its treatment of religious terms peculiar to the Mennonites.
- Kuhns, *German and Swiss Settlements*. German language, agriculture, literature, education, and the Dutch Counties of Pennsylvania - fine bibliography.
- Lamech and Agrippa, *Chronicon Ephratense*. Picturesque but biased - reliability doubtful - the Brothers' History of the Cloisters.

- Mercer, *Ancient Carpenter Tools*. Excellent plates - covers a wide range.
- Rauch, *Pennsylvania Dutch Handbook*. Dutch Vocabulary ; a good primer for the student of the dialect.
- Rosenberger, *The Pennsylvania Germans*. Fine introductory material - the Mennonites - general life conditions among the Dutch - farming.
- Rosenberger, *In Pennsylvania German Land*. Interesting treatment of many phases of German life - good descriptions of schools, churches and old buildings.
- Stoudt, *Folklore of Pennsylvania Germans*. Lullabies - ballads - riddles.
- Thomas, *Mary at the Farm*. Recipes - accounts of short trips in various sections of eastern Pennsylvania.
- Weygant, *The Red Hills*. Interesting material - well written - easily read - agriculture, arts and folkways.

II

Mennonite Schisms ¹

- 1777, the Funk schism, led by Christian Funk in the Franconia Conference district.
- 1811, the Herr schism, led by Francis Herr. Resulted in the organization of the Reformed Mennonites.
- 1846, the Stauffer schism, led by Jacob Stauffer in Lancaster County. Resulted in the organization of the Stauffer Church.
- 1847, the Oberholtzer schism, led by J. H. Oberholtzer and others in Bucks County, Pa.. The beginning of a movement which resulted in the organization of the General Conference of Mennonites of North America.
- 1859, the Holdeman schism, led by John Holdeman of Medina County, Ohio. Resulted in the organization of the church officially known as «Church of God in Christ, Mennonite».
- 1866, the Egli schism, led by Henry Egli of Indiana. Led to the organization of the Defenceless Mennonites.
- 1872, the Wisler schism, led by Jacob Wisler of Indiana. Resulted in the organization of what is sometimes called the Wisler Mennonites, the Old Order Mennonites, etc. This body has been strengthened since that time by the Woolwich schism in Canada (in 1889), the Martin schism, led by Jonas Martin of Lancaster County (in 1893), and the Heatwole schism in Virginia, (in 1901) these several bodies cooperating.

1. Daniel Kauffman. Mennonite Cyclopedic Dictionary, Mennonite Publishing House Scottdale, Pa -1937- P 327.

- 1874, the Brenneman schism, led by Daniel Brenneman of Indiana. Led to the organization of what is now known as the Mennonite Brethren in Christ. A small group, under W. W. Gehman, in Lehigh County, Pa., had previously separated from the Oberholtzer Mennonites (in 1859) and later united with the movement in Indiana and Ontario in forming this new church.
- 1899, the Stuckey schism, led by Joseph Stuckey and others. The movement started a few decades before the date mentioned at the head of this paragraph, this being the date of the organization of what is officially known as the Central Conference of Mennonites.

III

Excerpts from the Rules and Discipline of the Franconia Conference

VIII. — Funerals.

1. The different congregations are admonished against Sunday funerals, and if possible to hold them on other days.
2. Flowers and other decorations are to be omitted at all funerals held in our meetinghouses and members are not to clothe their dead in black.

IX. — Apparel.

1. The members are admonished to wear plain clothing.
2. Members are required to submit themselves to the teachings of God's Word according to I Tim. 2:8,9 and I Peter 3:3,4, and further that Sisters shall not wear hats, fashionable clothing or gold for ornament. They shall wear the plain devotional covering and use the strings for tying and not for ornament. Parents are to dress their children as becometh their faith, not follow the world in the cutting of their hair, wearing of jewelry etc.
3. Conference agreed that members should be admonished relative to the dress question in public and privately (Acts 20 : 20) and after sufficient teaching and admonition, if they would not comply, would have to be rejected — Titus 3 : 10.
4. The Brethren are not to get stylish or costly automobiles and not use them for pleasure, knowing that they are one of the greatest sources of evil. Good judgment should be used in running them lest we become a reproach to the world — Luke 16 : 15.

X. — Civil Affairs.

3. Members shall not use the bankrupt law.
4. Members shall not sell a mortgage unless all parties interested agree.
5. If a member makes an assignment and his debts cannot all be paid, he is to seek the peace of the debtor, if possible, before he can take steps to be reconciled to the church.

6. If a member sues to recover a debt he is required to take another member with him and seek the peace of the debtor, if possible, before he can take steps to be reconciled to the church.

XI. — Secret Societies, etc.

1. Members are not allowed to belong to secret societies, life insurance, farmers unions, attend fairs, excursions, picnics, surprise parties, moving picture shows, political meetings, parks, exhibitions, horse races, baby shows and the like.
2. Our people are not to affiliate themselves with choral societies, so that they infringe on the plain principles of our church, nor to attend recitals in Music Halls, Theatres, Academies and the like.
3. The members are not allowed to convey people to places of amusement where they themselves are not allowed to attend.
4. That members refrain from uniting and working with Breeders, Poultry, Milk or like associations.
5. No member is allowed to hold a license to sell spiritous liquors except for medicine, neither should members sign petitions for such licenses, neither should any go bond for such license.
We further caution our people to be careful and not engage in drinking so that our testimony may be clear against it.

IV

Recipes

DUTCH SOUR BEETS

6 or 8 beets	1 tablespoon sugar
2 cups vinegar	1 teaspoon salt
3 hard boiled eggs	1/2 teaspoon pepper.

Boil the beets until tender, peel and slice them 1/2 inch thick ; season. Pour the vinegar over them and let stand for 30 minutes. Add the peeled, hard boiled eggs, and let stand in vinegar for 24 hours, after which they will be colored red.



PEPPER POT SOUP

1 veal joint	2 bay leaves
4 pounds tripe	2 teaspoons salt
2 onions	1 teaspoon black pepper
1 bunch herbs	1/2 teaspoon cayenne pepper
4 potatoes	1 red pepper
2 teaspoons minced parsley	2 cups flour
1 cup beef suet	

Two days are necessary to cook this dish. Scrape tripe and wash in three waters (cold). Put in cold water to boil for 7 or 8 hours, then after tripe is cool cut into 1/2 inch squares. The next day simmer the veal with bones in three quarts of cold water for three hours and skim off the scum. Separate meat from bones and dice. Strain broth, add bay leaves, chopped onions, and simmer for another hour. then Add the potatoes, diced, the herbs, parsley and red pepper, cut finely. Add the meat, salt, cayenne. Add also dumplings made of beef suet, flour and salt, mixed to the consistency of paste with cold water. Roll the dumplings in flour, 1/2 inch in diameter. Drop into soup and simmer five minutes longer.



DUTCH PRETZEL SOUP

2 pounds Reading Butter Pretzels 2 cups water
(on sale throughout the eastern
United States) 3 tablespoons butter
4 cups rich milk 2 tablespoons flour
salt, pepper, juice of parsley.

Blend butter and flour. Combine milk and water and heat. Stir blended butter with milk until creamy and smooth. Season. Pour into serving dish. Break pretzels into small pieces and add just before serving. Combine with juice of parsley.



POD PEA SOUP, MENNONITE

2 quarts green English peas 1 teaspoon salt
(pods only)
1 onion 1 teaspoon pepper
2 cups milk 3 tablespoons flour
1 teaspoon sugar a little nutmeg
3 tablespoons butter

Wash the pea pods, cut into inch long pieces, boil in water with onion for 1-1/2 hours. Strain through colander, add pepper, salt, sugar, nutmeg and milk (which has been scalded). Bring to a boil and thicken with blended butter and flour.



SNITS AND KNEP

(Dried apples and button-dumplings, one of the most famous of Dutch oddities)

Use an end piece of good smoked ham, weighing 2-1/2 to 4 pounds. Place it in a pot and just cover with water. Simmer it for about 2 hours, changing water after 30 minutes. Soak in water in advance

1 or 1-1/2 pounds of dried apples (the kind which has not been pared before drying) and put into the pot, together with the water in which they have been soaked. Let simmer for another hour, adding a tablespoon of brown sugar.

Make the « knep » (dumplings) by cutting together 2 cups of flour, 1 teaspoon salt, 4 teaspoons baking powder, 1/2 teaspoon of pepper. Make a stiff batter by mixing 3 tablespoons melted shortening and one egg, well beaten, with about a half cup of milk.

Remove the ham and snits, bring liquor to a boil, and drop tablespoonsful of batter, one at a time, into boiling pot. Cover quickly and boil for 17 to 20 minutes. In serving, place ham in center of a large warmed platter, surround with snits and knep, and pour over it the liquor well thickened with flour.



FASTNACHTS

The last day before Lent begins has always meant (in Pennsylvania German Land) the baking of « Fastnachts », a kind of doughnut. It once included a fasting period, but the Dutch never fast. About 500,000 Fastnachts are made each year, every Shrove Tuesday.

Boil 3 potatoes in enough water to cover. With the potato water scald 1 pint of flour and add the potato mashed. When cool add one yeast cake, dissolved in a little luke warm water. Start this about 5 P. M. At bedtime mix a pint of flour with one pint of lukewarm milk. Stir enough flour into milk to make a batter that will drop readily from the spoon. To this batter add the first mixture and let rise over night. In the morning add 4 beaten eggs, 1/2 cup of melted butter, or butter and lard mixed, and 1 cup of sugar.

Knead stiff enough to roll : let rise till the dough doubles its size. Roll and cut out the dough and let rise again. When light, swim in hot fat.



BALL CHEESE, MILLERSVILLE

Put 1 gallon of thick, sour milk in a cheesecloth bag and let water drain from it. When drained, salt to taste. Form it into flat, round balls about 3 inches in diameter, and lay upon china platter for 3 days. Then roll the balls in baking soda and wrap in paper. Place the balls in an earthen or glass crock and let ripen for 2 weeks. Then take them out and rinse in water to remove soda, scraping the balls with a knife.



DUTCH CUP CHEESE, BERKS

(This specialty is sold only in Pennsylvania German farm markets)

Thick milk is scalded by placing a pan of it in the oven and baking the curd. The water is drained and the curds are put in an earthen

vessel and kept at a moderate temperature. Each day for a week new curds are added and mixed with the rest. The curds are then poured into a heated pan, let simmer slowly, and brought to a boil without stirring. Then a pinch of salt, a cup of cream, 1/2 pound of butter and a teaspoon of baking soda are added, and the mixture is boiled for 15 minutes with 2 or 3 beaten eggs added. The mixture is then poured into cups and allowed to cool.



PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH APPLE BUTTER

10 pounds apples	6 quarts cider
4 pounds sugar	2 tablespoons ground cloves
2 tablespoons ground allspice	3 tablespoons ground cinnamon

Wash and quarter the apples. Boil the cider for 20 minutes, put the apples into the kettle with the cider and cook until the apples are very tender. Press through a sieve to remove skin and seeds. Add the sugar and spices to the pulp. Cook until as thick as desired (a soft paste); stir frequently to prevent burning. Pour into crocks or glass jars.



DUTCH SAUERKRAUT

Put in a large earthen jar a thick layer of cut cabbage, and add 1/4 cup of salt. Repeat until jar is filled. Put dry linen cloth over the top, add heavy weights (usually washed stones), and let stand two weeks. Take off cloth, rinse, remove a little brine and replace cloth and weights; let stand again. The entire process requires about 6 weeks.



DUTCH BEER EEL

3 1/2 pounds eel	1/4 lemon, sliced
3 tablespoons butter	1 pinch pepper
2 tablespoons flour	1 clove
1 quart beer	1/2 bay leaf
1/2 onion sliced	salt

Have the eel skinned and cleaned and cut into 3 inch pieces, removing the bones from the pieces. Stir the 3 tablespoons of butter into flour, add the beer, spices, lemon and onion slices. Cook this gravy and put in the pieces of eel to boil 20 minutes. Serve the eel on a hot platter, strain the gravy, thicken it with flour and boil, pouring it over the eel.



DUTCH SHOOFLY PIE

1 cup molasses	2 cups sugar
4 cups flour	1 teaspoon baking soda
1/2 cup butter and lard	1/2 teaspoon cream of tartar
1/2 teaspoon salt	

Dissolve the molasses in 1 cup of water. Mix all other ingredients and form into crumbs. Pour molasses mixture into pans lined with pie crust, then spread the crumbs evenly on top. Sprinkle with cinnamon and bake in moderate oven.



HELLER BLUTHER KUKLEIN

Gather elderberry blossoms and when free from dust and moisture, dip them into fritter batter, holding the stem ends. Drop into hot fat, drain one minute on coarse brown paper, and serve hot, dusted with powdered sugar and cinnamon.



ROSE WINE

Gather one quart of rose leaves, place in a bowl, pour over one quart of boiling water. Let stand nine days, then strain, and to each quart of strained liquid add one pound of granulated sugar. Allow to stand until next day, when sugar will be dissolved. Pour into bottles, cork tightly, and stand away for six months before using.

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